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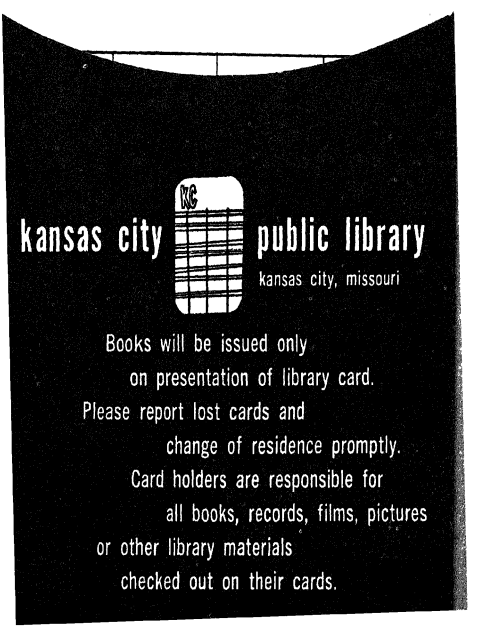

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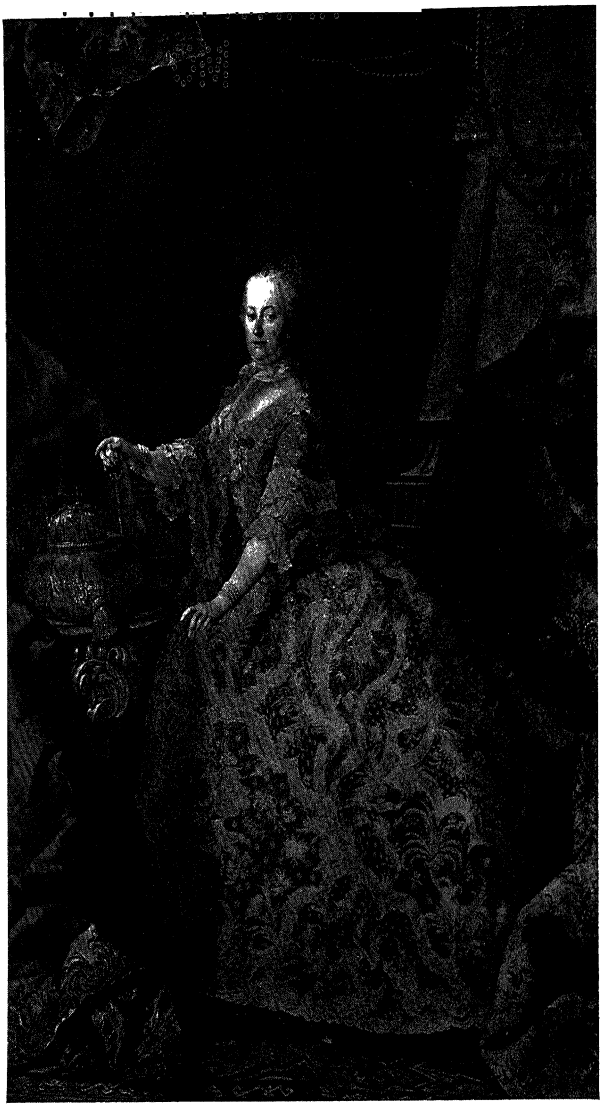

MEYTENS

MARIA THERESA, 1756

after a portrait in the palace in Schönbrunn

MARIA THERESA

THE
LAST CONSERVATIVE

by
Constance Lily Morris

New York · Alfred · A · Knopf · London

1937

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MEDIUM

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To My Husband

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ODE
XII

by Voltaire

A LA REINE DE HONGRIE

Marie Thérèse d'Autriche [1]

(1742)

Fille de ces héros que l'Empire eut pour maîtres,
Digne du trône auguste où l'on vit tes ancêtres,
Toujours près de leur chute et toujours affermis;
Princesse magnanime,
Qui jouis de l'estime
De tous tes ennemis:

Le Français généreux, si fier et si traitable,
Dont le goût pour la gloire est le seul goût durable,
Et qui vole en aveugle où l'honneur le conduit,
Inonde ton empire,
Te combat et t'admire,
T'adore et te poursuit.

Par des nœuds étonnants l'altière Germanie,
A l'empire français malgré soi réunie,
Fait de l'Europe entière un objet de pitié;
Et leur longue querelle
Fut cent fois moins cruelle
Que leur triste amitié.

Ainsi de l'équateur et des antres de l'Ourse
Les vents impétueux emportent dans leur course
Des nuages épais, l'un à l'autre opposés;
Et, tandis qu'ils s'unissent,
Les foudres retentissent
De leurs flancs embrasés.

Quoi! des rois bienfaisants ordonnent ces ravages!
Ils annoncent le calme, ils forment les orages!
Ils prétendent conduire à la félicité
Les nations tremblantes,
Par les routes sanglantes
De la calamité!

O vieillard vénérable! à qui les destinées
Ont de l'heureux Nestor accordé les années,
Sage que rien n'alarme et que rien n'éblouit,
Veux-tu priver le monde
De cette paix profonde
Dont ton âme jouit?

Ah! s'il pouvait encore, au gré de sa prudence,
Tenant également le glaive et la balance,
Fermer, par des ressorts aux mortels inconnus,
De sa main respectée,
La porte ensanglantée
Du temple de Janus!

Si de l'or des Français les sources égarées,
Ne fertilisant plus de lointaines contrées,
Rapportaient l'abondance au sein de nos remparts,
Embellissaient nos villes,
Arrosaient les asiles
Où languissent les arts!

ODE XII

Beaux-Arts, enfants du Ciel, de la Paix et des Grâces,
Que Louis en triomphe amena sur ses traces,
Ranimez vos travaux, si brillant autrefois,
Vos mains découragées,
Vos lyres négligées,
Et vos tremblantes voix.

De l'Immortalité vos succès sont le gage.
Tous ces traités rompus et suivis du carnage,
Ces triomphes d'un jour, si vains, si célébrés,
Tout passe, et tout retombe
Dans la nuit de la tombe;
Et vous seuls demeurez!

PREFACE

AUSTRIA TODAY is a pathetic contrast to the Austria of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, this remnant of what was once one of the greatest powers of the civilized world still plays a vital part in the European drama and is a significant factor among the political forces shaping Europe's destiny. All that remains of the glory of the past is the city of Vienna and a small group of outlying provinces. Retaining the size and character of an Imperial capital, Vienna of today has been deprived of its Imperial functions, and is a tragic reminder of those great days of affluence when Maria Theresa and her court lent majesty to this beautiful city.

The inroads begun during her reign by her arch-enemy, Frederick, initiated the decline of Maria Theresa's realm. These inroads have continued until this day and may not yet have terminated. It is this situation that justifies a close study of the case and warrants a re-examination of the steps leading to the conditions now existing.

Recent information from Hungarian archives and other sources accentuates the human qualities of Maria Theresa and places her in a more realistic light than has, until now, been depicted by historians. Her Austrian biographers have always idealized her and surrounded her with a romantic aura. Others have gone to the opposite extreme and misinterpreted her actions and motives, which, although at times

ill-advised, were never intentionally cruel or calculating, as depicted by her enemies.

The wealth of material which has been discovered in lately opened archives seems to justify the publication of a new biography, especially as there have been comparatively few written in English.

I feel greatly indebted to Dr. Robert Teichl, the General Director of the Vienna Royal Library; to Dr. Dionyo Janossy, Director of the National Archives in Budapest; to Mr. Wickham Legg of Oxford University; to Dr. Koppels Pinson of Columbia University; to Professor Willy Andreas, Professor of History and former Rector of Heidelberg University; to Professor Heinrich Kretschmayr of the University of Vienna; and to Mr. Hector Bolitho, who helped in the preparation of the book for publication.

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INTRODUCTION

THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES in Europe demonstrate the unlimited power of kingship and statecraft. This period which terminated with the French Revolution was characterized by abundant energy and flourishing originality. It ended in exhaustion. It was rich in important personalities, statesmen and monarchs, who resolutely proclaimed the theories of absolutism and it unfolds before us one of the most strikingly vigorous dramas of history.[1]

In the midst of changes which transformed a world, we see a woman on the throne who, despite the opposition of overwhelming forces, upheld her crown with a dignity and charm peculiar to herself. What makes her personality all the more arresting is the fact that she achieved the project of creating a great state without suffering the loss, to even a slight degree, of her thoroughly feminine qualities. She accomplished an incomparable accord between woman and queen.

In order to appraise her remarkably rich life it is necessary to consider all the problems which confronted the ruler of the Habsburg realm. A highly dangerous movement was being agitated in Europe when the reins of government passed into the hands of this young woman, and the ruling house was confronted both by new rivals and by old opponents. In addition the throne of Prussia had just been mounted by a stormy genius who was soon to prove a for-

midable foe. Faced by almost insurmountable difficulties Maria Theresa, the successor of her father, Charles VI, ascended the throne of the Habsburgs.

The story of her youth and early experiences, her love for her charming royal suitor, the tranquillity and burgher-like manner of her early family life, has been dealt with by all her many biographers. The gigantic task which lay before her upon the death of her father, and the threatening political crisis which was her inheritance, are fully recorded in the archives and the letters with which the libraries of Vienna and other European capitals are so richly stored.

In order to comprehend fully the difficulties which perplexed this vivacious and youthful Queen at the beginning of her reign, it is necessary to study the ethnographical and geographical conditions of the Habsburg realm at the time of her accession.

What was known as the Habsburg realm was really little more than the ruling power of a dynasty controlling a loose aggregation of kingdoms and lands, each of which retained its own individuality and was dominated by its ancient traditions. In this mass of dynastic possessions only the lower and interior Austrian districts showed any close coherence. The possessions of the Habsburg realm were scattered over Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, and Hungary. Slavic, Germanic, Magyar, and Romanic people were thrown together in the expanse of territory between Lake Constance, the Rhine, and Carpathia from the river Po and the Save to the Riesengebirge. Different systems of land tenure, different types of landlords, and different mechanisms of administration distinguished these territories one from another. Only in the person of the monarch himself were their mutually strange and hostile masses united. Until the eighteenth century their common ruler had not developed military and civil strength, and no definite arrangement held the various

lands together. But during this period a movement to consolidate these possessions in and outside the ancient Holy Roman Empire, in the heart of middle Europe, was evident. It is during this period too that the House of Habsburg gradually achieves security and prestige and plays a role in the politics of the succession, assuming an important position in the European state system and the European balance of power. Out of this territorial bloc the first outlines of the individual realm founded on a historical basis gradually asserted itself. The great wars conducted at the end of the seventeenth century against Louis XIV and the Turks established the position of Austria Hungary as an independent power in the European concert, the German Hungarian land group forming its kernel.

To ensure the indivisibility and continuity of the Empire, Emperor Charles VI formulated a law of inheritance which, in case of necessity, assured the throne to his eldest daughter. This law, called the Pragmatic Sanction, met with considerable opposition on the part of several of the principalities composing the Holy Roman Empire, and Maria Theresa, the successor of her father, stood upon uncertain ground at her accession. How she restored and maintained the disordered realm bequeathed by her father, lacking both internal unity and sufficient foreign security, is a story of thrilling heroism. The dissolution of the monarchy was imminent, with a young, inexperienced Queen at the helm and with a consort at her side who, although he contributed dignity as the head of the family, very soon proved an uncertain reed to lean on. Her father's advisers had outlived their usefulness. Her beauty and winning lovableness, however, lightened for her the task of controlling men and states. Yet the ominous circumstances which surrounded her immediately following her accession required a more forceful mastery than her womanly charm could furnish. An unexpected

surprise awaited her in the active encroachments of her northern neighbour, King Frederick, hitherto ignored at the Hofburg in Vienna, the strength of whose state, an inheritance from his much ridiculed father, had been completely miscalculated. In spite of conciliatory and pacifying advice from all sides, she took the field against her most powerful foe. It has been asserted by her biographers that the struggle thus undertaken really ended only with her death. Resolution and risk were destined to be in vain. But she manifested indomitable strength of soul, and her figure, flooded by a kind of historic immortality, still remains a beacon to the aspirations of true heroes.

Compared with that of her enemy, Frederick the Great, her realm was of a far more complex character. Austria embraced wide lands and people of notably different races, speech, and culture. They were, moreover, scattered through Europe. To the group of lands clinging together in the middle of Europe the Italian dominions and the Netherlands possessions were joined and retained with difficulty, and Hungary arose as an individual state in the variegated mass. Prussia, on the other hand, was grouped about a central stem and possessed a united character. In addition the Habsburg inheritance, distinct from the State, involved many complications. It was reserved for Maria Theresa to adapt the theory of absolutism to the spirit of her times. This brought her into tragic conflict with her son. With the Silesian wars and the Bavarian struggle for succession, Maria Theresa was early confronted by the problems that were to dominate her life, while the Seven Years' War raised her arch-enemy, Frederick, to heights of greatness and of fame. Her entry into politics and war was clearly contrary to her natural inclinations. She was domestic by instinct and early training, but her personal desires were completely subordinated to the problems of statecraft and diplomacy, which

she learned to master with considerable skill. When she stepped upon the difficult ground of her Hungarian kingdom, in which, seeking help, she had taken refuge, she left a memorable impression upon her contemporaries which has survived undimmed to posterity. Cautious, yet brave, she took up the struggle against the obdurate lords of the realm and against the hatred elicited by her first signal success, which had a profound effect upon Europe. Through cleverness and skill she won the heart of the refractory Reichstag and charmed it to reluctant admiration for the new wearer of the crown of St. Stephen, as well as to co-operation with the threatened Empire. In this instance not only her diplomacy, but pre-eminently the courage of a harassed woman and the natural dignity of a true queen had triumphed. Forever valorous, she bore with fortitude all the blows that were to follow. Never did she shirk her task of guiding and directing her realm, although she became the mother of sixteen children, a combination of circumstances in which she stands alone in modern history.

Her sense of duty and her matriarchal conception of her responsibilities towards the State did not permit her to rest content with the laurels of her military victories, but with unflagging ardour she reconstructed the governmental machine and instituted countless reforms, which brought about a regeneration in her people. Her political and diplomatic activities, especially towards the end of her career, have been severely criticized. Many conflicting motives and sinister influences misdirected her activities. Nevertheless, when one looks at this rich and full life, it is to find much more that is praiseworthy than culpable. This life, so plentiful in great and portentous events, was joyously mastered. Even at the end, when the threatening clouds were casting their deepest shadows, she rose superior to the gloom, singing a triumphant Te Deum.

Today, when her homeland is lost in wreckage and sadness, the lovableness of her character still holds the soul of her realm, as a mother that of her children. Inextricably woven into the story of Austria is the name of Maria Theresa.

MARIA THERESA

CHAPTER I

Charles VI and his court. Life in Vienna. The Habsburg succession. Birth of Maria Theresa

IN THE EARLY PART of the eighteenth century, Vienna was a great aristocrat among the capitals of Europe. Charles VI and his consort, the Empress Elizabeth, held the gifts of music, art, and beauty in their hands. The rich gay Viennese society moved towards the Hofburg as if it were the city's heart. Behind its severe façade were the guardians of all they cared for. In no other capital was there such music, such painting, such luxury. Except during the summer months, when the court sought the cooler glades and the fountains of Schönbrunn, the sovereign made his home in Vienna. A new machinery for government was being built. It was designed to combat the mediæval notions which were still so strong in the provinces and to draw the control of the lives of the people more and more into the centres of finance and commerce. The people no longer lived so far separated, each community with its own little core of culture and thought. Cities were being born. The magnetic

forces which separate men or draw them together were changing rapidly. The cities grew in numbers, in riches, and in culture, and the manners of those who lived in them became less rude. Men and women lived more elegantly.

Vienna was the shrine of beauty. It cradled artists and it nurtured musicians. It invented new pleasures and it made old sins fashionable again. No singer's voice was of consequence until it had echoed through the gilt halls of the Hofburg; no painter's name was talked of in awe until Charles VI had patronized him and asked him, perhaps, to decorate a panel or to paint a portrait. Princes from other lands sighed when they came to Vienna, and they complained about the shabbiness of the opera in Paris and the lack of music in London. The ambassadors of foreign countries dreamed of being appointed to the court of Charles of Austria. Only Vienna knew how to laugh! Its theatres were gay with comedies. The great houses of Schwarzenberg, Liechtenstein, Zinzendorf, and Khevenhüller were little courts in themselves. Their card parties were bubbles of delight, and in the winter the lordly streets outside their houses were flooded so that they would freeze and make a floor upon which elegant girls and their polite attendants could skate, in a myriad of new figures. The Prater was opened in April and May, so that the lowly born could catch a glimpse of their betters at play. Carriages bowled along under the rustling leaves of the chestnuts, and the little blossoms fell into the equally frail hands of the beauties of the world.

In the summer of 1716 Lady Mary Wortley Montagu travelled down the Danube with her husband, towards Vienna. Lady Mary had a taste for "romantic solitudes . . . distant from the commerce of mankind," [1] and she was not pleased with her first glimpses of the city. She thought the palaces magnificent, but spoiled because of the narrow streets, the crowding, and the dirt. This for the

THE GRABEN OR MARKET PLACE IN VIENNA, 1715

after an etching in Das Barocke Wien

outer view. Once within the great houses, she admitted their beauty. "Nothing can be more surprisingly magnificent than the apartments," she wrote. "They are commonly a *suite* of eight or ten large rooms, all inlaid, the doors and windows richly carved and gilt, and the furniture such as is seldom seen in the palaces of sovereign princes in other countries – the hangings the finest tapestry of Brussels, prodigious large looking-glasses in silver frames, fine japan tables, beds, chairs, canopies, and window curtains of the richest Genoa damask or velvet, almost covered with gold lace or embroidery. The whole made gay by pictures, and vast jars of japan china, and almost in every room large lustres of rock crystal. . . . I have been more than once entertained with fifty dishes of meat, all served in silver, and well dressed. . . . But the variety and richness of their wines is what appears the most surprising . . . I have counted several times to the number of eighteen different sorts, all exquisite in their kinds." [2]

A note at the end of Lady Mary's letter brings us to the central figures of the great scene of Vienna in the early part of the century. She wrote: "I have not yet been at court, being forced to stay for my gown, without which there is no waiting on the Empress; though I am not without a great impatience to see a beauty that has been the admiration of so many different nations." [3]

The Empress Elizabeth had come from the north. She was a Princess of Brunswick so fair and with skin so white that Charles VI called her *die weisse Liesel.* The history books tell us that she was sensible and strong-willed and that her beauty was dazzling, even in a dazzling age. She graced every scene within the courts, but she was not wholly loved as she drove through the streets, among her husband's subjects. Vienna was passionately Catholic. The monasteries were rich and powerful and the cultivated

priests held the conscience of the people in their hands. Although Elizabeth was a Catholic, she brought Protestant blood from the north, and the bigotry and superstition of the mass of Viennese never allowed them to believe wholly in her Catholicism.

Although Charles VI was of pure German blood, the habits of his years in Spain did not change when he lost the Spanish crown in favour of Austria. His father was Leopold I and his mother was Eleonora of the Palatinate. His Catholic Habsburg inheritance did not weaken in the new land which he ruled. He governed his courtiers with rigid etiquette, and although he had become more cosmopolitan than his forebears, through his contacts with western countries, he created and enforced his own standards and taste upon the people. Vehse tells us in his *Memoirs of the Court, Aristocracy and Diplomacy of Austria* that the reign of Charles VI formed " a period of transition from the bigoted zealotry of the last Habsburgs to the Liberal and joyous Catholicism of the rulers from the House of Habsburg-Lorraine." Charles believed implicitly in the divine right of kings, but his lordly mind was also cultivated. His autocratic sternness was tempered by his love of music; he played the violin and he composed operas. Charles VI was not merely a gilded patron of the arts. Architecture flourished under his encouragement. As much as any ruler in history, he lived in the grand manner. When he travelled he startled the world with his retinue. Vehse says that at one time the Emperor's escort consisted of 164 persons and 47 carriages, his Lord High Chamberlain, four chamberlains, four generals, two pages, four equerries, the royal chaplain, the royal confessor, two body physicians, a surgeon, a controller, keeper of the privy purse, and a host of couriers, garde-robiers, tapissiers, perruquiers, yeomen of the bedchamber, stove-lighters, keepers of the royal plate and table

service, the cellarer, and a culinary staff of a chief cook and twelve assistants, valets, lackeys, footmen, horsemen, etc.

Ghosts of discontent went with the Emperor's love of magnificence. He was the prey of melancholia at times, and although he loved his Empress, neither his domestic virtue nor his piety prevented him from dalliance with other women. His most celebrated mistress was Marianna, descendant of a Neapolitan ruling family. Like many kings' favourites, she delighted him with her mind as well as her beauty, and it is said that she influenced him in his state policies. It seems that Marianna did not hinder the good purposes of the Emperor by misuse of her power. Metastasio, the poet, whose influence in the court survived into Maria Theresa's reign,[4] loved Marianna and it was said that he stayed in Vienna as much because of her as because of the Emperor's pleasure in his Italian music. Marianna can be no more than a passing portrait in these pictures of Viennese life before the birth of Maria Theresa. Only Charles VI and his consort hold our attention; Imperial rulers of an Imperial country in which beauty, learning, and religion flourished luxuriantly, drawing the breath of their life from the warm south rather than the colder north; listening to the music of Italy rather than of Germany; embracing the faith of the Latins rather than the Spartan Protestantism which had its stronghold in Prussia. Vienna warmed itself in the sweet winds that came from the south. The portraits of its princes were painted with blue Italiante skies as backgrounds, rather than with the grey-cold skies of the north, which found no favour with them.

In the summer of 1716, when Lady Mary Wortley Montagu arrived in Vienna, the people were still sad about the death of the Empress's first child. He had been a son [5] and the monarchic passions of the people had poured out in acclamation as they pressed against the façade of the Hofburg

to hear the great news. But hardly had their joy calmed down when the young Prince died and left Charles without an heir. By September of 1716, when Lady Mary was "squeezed up in a gown and adorned with a gorget and the other implements thereunto belonging," to be received by the Empress, the disappointment of the court had apparently been overcome. Lady Mary was "perfectly charmed with the Empress." She wrote to her sister of the "lively look full of sweetness" in her eyes. "Her complexion is the finest I ever saw." Her mouth had "ten thousand charms that touch the soul." Lady Mary was tipsy with fine phrases as she wrote of the smile, "with a beauty and sweetness that force adoration." "The Graces move with her; the famous statue of Medicis was not formed with more delicate proportions; nothing can be added to the beauty of her neck and hands . . . I was almost sorry that my rank here did not permit me to kiss them." [6]

In May of the following year the lovely Empress withdrew from the splendour of the capital and, on the morning of the 13th, thousands of people waited once more before the Hofburg. All night, lights had burned in the wing which had been built by Leopold I. Those of the crowd who were near enough to the gaunt high walls of the fortress to peer through the portals, watched the servants hurrying to and fro. About half past seven, as Vienna was waking to the commotion of a new day, the great, slow notes of the bell in Stephansdom sounded over the city. News came from within the Hofburg, but the hearts of the thousands of watchers sank when they were told. The Empress had given birth to a daughter and the house of Habsburg was still without a male heir. The fierce light which burns upon the domestic life of royal persons did not spare her. Emperor and subjects sighed with disappointment, and Maria Theresa began her life with the reproach of being a woman.

ELIZABETH CHRISTINA OF BRUNSWICK-WOLFENBÜTTEL, WIFE OF CHARLES VI

after a portrait in Hetzendorf Palace, Vienna

CHAPTER II

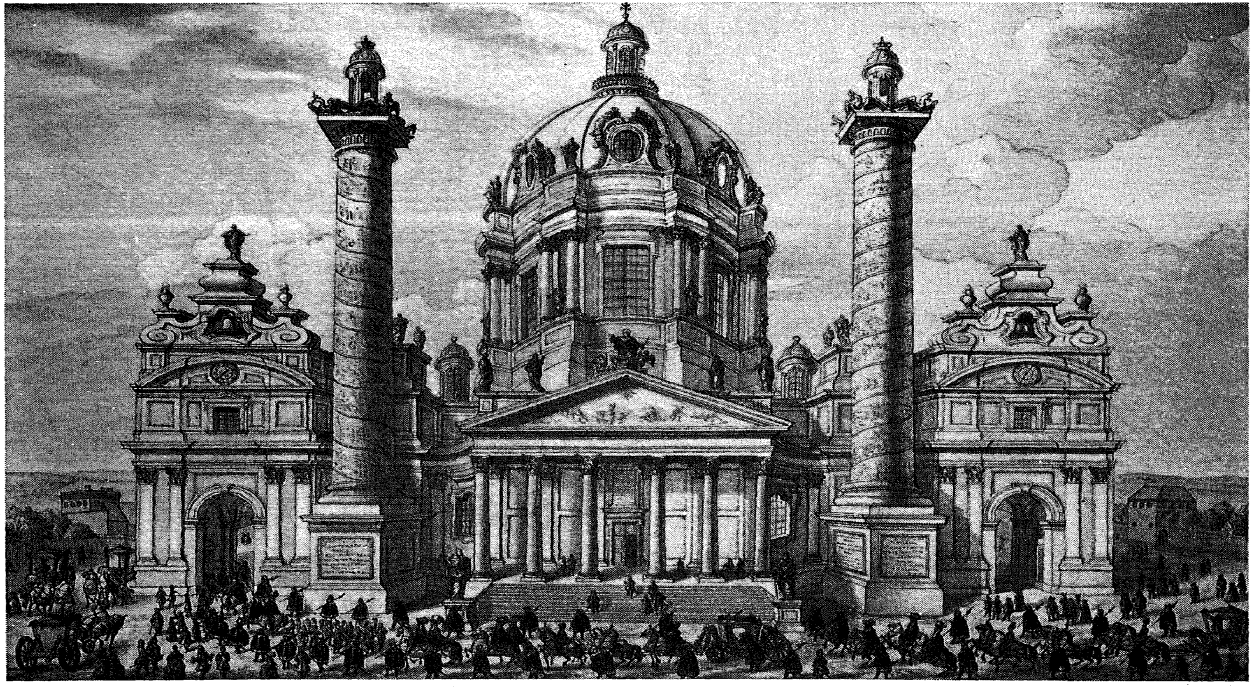
Art and religion under Charles VI. The deliverance from the Middle Ages. Changes in civil and economic life. The development of the House of Habsburg. The Pragmatic Sanction. The Emperor's wish for a son

THE STORY OF Charles VI's reign continued for twenty-three years after the birth of Maria Theresa. On the surface, which Lady Mary Wortley Montagu observed when she was in Vienna, it seemed that the Emperor's chief influences were for progress and construction. His father, Leopold I, had tried to repair the ravages of his wars with Louis XIV and with the Turks by developing the husbandry of his lands and encouraging industries. He had sought also to hide his losses from the eyes of the world by decking his court with luxuries and his soldiers with weapons.

Leopold's pride and his encouragement of art had led to the illustrious baroque period. During his reign and that

of his son, Joseph I, such great artists as Johann Fischer von Erlach, Hildebrandt, Rafael Donner, and Daniel Gran poured the harvest of their talents and inventions upon Vienna.[1] Charles VI was heir to this campaign for productiveness and beauty. During the reign of these latter three emperors the baroque style in Austria flourished. Johann Fischer von Erlach, born in 1656, the foremost representative of this style, received his inspiration from Italy and was influenced by the new fashion of architecture which had been developed by the great architect Nicholas Pacassi. The Charles Church in Vienna, erected by Charles VI to celebrate the delivery of Vienna from the great plague, is one of the outstanding contributions of Fischer von Erlach. Many palaces and public buildings which adorn Vienna, among these Prince Eugene's palace, built in 1714, the Schwarzenberg palace, and other imposing buildings, were among his great works. The plans for the Court Library, the Chancellery, the riding school and royal stables are also the work of Fischer von Erlach. The portals and staircases of the palaces then erected are especially characteristic of the baroque style, one of the peculiarities of which is an elliptical ground plan upon which the central edifice is erected, usually completed by a dome of great importance, as in the Charles Church.

Hildebrandt, the competitor of Fischer, also embellished Vienna with many dignified structures. The Church of Mariahilf and the Minoretten Church, built during the last ten years of the seventeenth century, are splendid expressions of the magnificence of this period. Fine examples of the baroque are seen in the University Church, the Dominican and Pauline Churches, and the Court Church, which were built during the reign of Charles VI. The Belvedere Palace, erected for Prince Eugene in 1704, was the work of Hildebrandt.



KARLSKIRCHE, VIENNA, 1724

from a drawing in Das Barocke Wien

The Austrian rococo, called the Maria Theresian style, which flourished from 1740 to 1780, differed from the baroque in being, like the French, composed fundamentally on severe lines, enlivened by eccentric ornamentation bordering on Oriental nature motives.

During the reign of Charles VI many arts flourished, such as pottery and ironwork. In Innsbruck the beautiful ironwork surrounding the cenotaph of Maximilian I in the Franciscan Church, which dates from this period, still holds one spellbound. The Imperial Academy of Art, founded in 1701, was enlarged by Charles VI and Maria Theresa. Charles VI also did much to improve the opera in Vienna and was an accomplished musician himself. There is no doubt that this impetus given by Charles VI to music, still makes Vienna one of the greatest musical centres of the world.

Although Vienna was one of the centres of cultivated living in Europe, the people beyond its boundaries, ruled by the Emperor, were vastly unlike in religion and national aims. These differences had retarded the development of community life in Austria, which was a century behind the rest of enlightened Europe. The feudal system still predominated.

The reasons for these delayed activities in Austria are evident. Austria was ethnographically a much divided territory, embracing many mixtures of races, peoples, and languages, each with a separate and distinct personality and an individual attitude to religion and life. The old and once secure influence of the Catholic Church was now counterbalanced by the Germanic influence of the Reformation. Many parts of the Empire had been thoroughly Germanized, thus introducing into the country the Protestant influences of the Reformation. On the other hand, the Slav nations of Austria were to a great extent under the influence

of the Greek Church, while in Bohemia Protestantism flourished, as it did among the Magyars of Hungary.[2] In the seventeenth century Protestants had held the chief positions of dignity in Hungary, but in the eighteenth century when Maria Theresa came to the throne, they were merely tolerated.

Added to this was a smattering of Mohammedanism, a remnant of the wars with Turkey. With such a conglomeration of races, sects, and religions, it is not surprising that Austria at the beginning of the eighteenth century found itself face to face with religious and political problems which were already half solved in other countries in Europe. The "age of enlightenment," which came to its fullest development during the reign of Maria Theresa and which was already spreading its doctrines all over Europe through the writings of such great philosophers as Voltaire and Rousseau, was beginning dimly in Austria during the reign of Charles VI.

With all the glamour of his life in Vienna and his inheritance of culture, the Emperor lived through lively and menacing changes which threatened the power of his house. It was true that all Europe was waking to the new science of life – mercantilism was bringing the once scattered and independent economic life of countries under the control of the State. The State took on a new significance which Austria was slow to recognize. Building, manufacture, and commerce were to be the servants of the State, and the State was to grow rich and powerful and strong enough to endure wars. Charles VI was sufficiently enlightened to see that this changed conception must inevitably come to his own diverse people. He increased his encouragement of commerce. He declared Fiume and Trieste free ports and he built a road over the Semmering. He fostered trade on the Danube with Turkey and he founded the Oriental or

Levant Company in 1719. He extended these mercantile activities to the Austrian Netherlands with the help of Eugene, Prince of Savoy, who was the Governor General. In 1722 Charles founded the East India Company, in spite of the opposition of the sea powers, to develop trade with the East and West Indies and the African coast.

But Charles was a Habsburg and his blood sometimes drowned his reason. He was menaced by his ancestral voices, and dynastic ambitions often disturbed his sense of duty. He rarely allowed his solicitude for the State to come before the advantage and safety of his house. The Habsburgs had always subjected every other interest to the interest of the family. This was especially so in the case of Charles VI. His intense devotion to the Habsburg dynasty was transmitted to his daughter, who pursued the interests of the family above every other consideration. All of her ambitions and politics were subservient to this overruling idea, and part of her intense hatred of her arch-enemy, Frederick, was due to her disdain of the Hohenzollerns and her fear of their interference with the Habsburg power. Although the succession to the Habsburg territories had frequently been a source of dispute, still, until the death of Charles VI, these lands had always been inherited in the direct male line of the Habsburg family, and since the fifth century the Habsburgs had succeeded in a direct line as emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. Charles VI had much cause to glory in this great inheritance, and his pride in his race and family was handed down to his daughter to an even greater extent.

The history of Austria in the Middle Ages is a history of the Habsburg family.[3] Through a succession of terrible wars and struggles for supremacy, the Habsburg line gained in power. Rudolph, the founder of the house in the thirteenth century, had declared his possessions indivisible, but

his descendants had departed from this wise rule and had resorted to the practice of subdivision. Even after the various provinces had been reunited under Maximilian I in the sixteenth century, they had been again divided among the children of Ferdinand I (1558–64), his successor, to whom fell the Austrian inherited lands, while his brother, Charles, was crowned Emperor and ruler of Spain and the Burgundian territories. Ferdinand, the younger of the two, sought to strengthen the Austrian position and attempted to establish his rights to the crown of Bohemia and Hungary. He succeeded his brother as Roman Emperor in 1531 and took an active part in the affairs of the German realm and in the wars of the Protestant Reformation. His successor, Maximilian II (1564–76), his eldest son, was elected Roman Emperor upon the death of his father, who was a man of outstanding personality and noble principles, playing an important part in the Protestant movement. Upon his death in 1576, his eldest son, Rudolph II (1576–1612), was confronted with many problems in his realm which ended only with his death. His successor, Matthias (1612–19), inaugurated many improvements. He was succeeded by Ferdinand II (1619–37), his nephew, who had to face much unrest among the Bohemian Protestants. This uprising in Bohemia against the Habsburgs resulted in the dethronement of the Emperor. At this time there were two claimants to the throne of the Habsburgs, Frederick V and Ferdinand III, who was supported by the Pope and Spain. In the great battle of Prague, 1630, Ferdinand gained a decisive victory, resulting in the antagonism of England and France to the House of Habsburg, France remaining an enemy of the house until late in the eighteenth century. It was during this period that Wallenstein, who came to the aid of Ferdinand II, played so important a part and became the founder of the Austrian army. Through the terms of the

Peace of Westphalia, which ended this terrible war, the European state system, which has played so large a part in modern history, was reconstructed. The House of Habsburg again became united and assumed a dominant position in Europe. Ferdinand III (1637–58), the successor of his father, in 1637 took command of the situation with much vigour and established the power of the Habsburgs over the lords of the realm, who had so long been the enemies of the house. He was succeeded by his younger son, Leopold I (1658–1705), who was compelled through the intrigues of France to conduct wars on the eastern border of the Austrian inherited lands as well as to oppose the unruly lords of the realm, thus enfeebling the power of the House of Habsburg on the west front.

During the reign of Leopold, Prince Eugene of Savoy, Austria's greatest statesman and general, played an important role in overcoming the Turks, and, through the union of the Austrian-Alpian lands with Bohemia and Hungary and Siebenbürgen, the foundation of the Austro-Hungarian State was established, thus strengthening the power of the House of Habsburg and carrying great significance in the decision of the Spanish succession. Whether the Habsburgs or the Bourbons should be the possessors of the Spanish monarchy was the question of utmost importance. Joseph I (1705–11), the successor of Leopold, was confronted with this great issue of the Spanish succession; but the matter was not decided until the reign of Charles VI, the favourite son of Leopold I, who conducted a war known as the War of the Spanish Succession against the House of Bourbon, whereby he retained the Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples, and Sardinia. The War of the Spanish Succession, ending with the Peace of Utrecht (1713), bestowed the Spanish crown on Philip of Anjou and made Charles VI heir to the Austrian territories, centralizing the power of

the House of Habsburg in the German-Bohemian and inherited lands, with outlying territories, such as the Netherlands, and Lombardy, Parma, and Tuscany. Thus the House of Austria became involved in all the great problems of European politics. The heroism and bitter struggles which characterized its establishment were an inheritance of vast importance. One can well understand the pride of Charles VI in his Habsburg lineage, even though the Habsburg name is not altogether untarnished in the annals of history. From the election of Albert II, in 1437, to the death of Charles VI, in 1740, the sceptre had remained in the hands of one family. To quote from James Bryce:

"Their policy viewed as a whole, from the days of Rudolph I downward, had been neither conspicuously tyrannical nor faltering, nor dishonest. But it had been almost always a selfish family policy. . . . They had become the chiefs of a separate and independent state. . . . They had comported themselves in European politics, not as the representatives of Germany, but as heads of the great Austrian monarchy. . . . The old line clung to the crown with that Habsburg grip which has almost passed into a proverb." [4]

Common bloodshed, common distress and outward necessity had resulted in the domination and union of this ruling house. Through mighty struggles the Habsburgs had become absolute monarchs and had strengthened the internal absolutism of the State. Charles VI, the last of the Habsburg male line, was, above all, the German Emperor and respected the relations of Austria to the German dominions. Unlucky wars at the end of the reign of Charles VI, against France and the Porte, had greatly weakened the power of the House of Habsburg. Thus began the reign of Maria Theresa, last of the direct Habsburg line. According to Viscount Bryce, "The Habsburgs cared for nothing, sought

nothing, used the empire as an instrument for nothing, but the attainment of their personal or dynastic ends." As the history of Maria Theresa unfolds itself, it appears that this statement does not entirely apply in her case, where the matriarchal desire to further the interests of her subjects appears to predominate over the intense Habsburg pride which fanatically controlled her ancestors.

Successive Habsburg rulers found it necessary to settle the succession during their lifetime, as had Charles VI, who established a law, the Pragmatic Sanction, making his eldest daughter his direct heir to his realms, provided no son was born to him. This was entirely contrary to the Pactum Mutuæ Successionis, established by his father, Leopold I, in 1703, whereby the succession in Austria was settled in the following order: (1) Joseph and his male heirs; (2) Charles and his male heirs; (3) Joseph's daughters and their descendants; (4) Charles's daughters. Joseph I died leaving two daughters, Maria Amelia and Maria Josepha, and thus the Austrian territories fell to Charles VI. From the beginning of his reign, he seems to have turned his attention to the question of the succession, and in 1713 he brought before the Council a document which is known as the Pragmatic Sanction. It contained three articles: "(1) The Austrian states are one and indivisible; (2) Males of the House of Habsburg are to succeed in order of primogeniture; (3) In default of male heirs the succession is to go first to the daughters of Charles VI, then to those of Joseph I, and lastly to those of Leopold I." [5] It was this last article which was at complete variance with the agreement of 1703. In order to carry out the terms of this provision, established by him, Charles VI devoted endless time and energy and made concessions which involved, not only his realm, but also the happiness and future of his daughter.

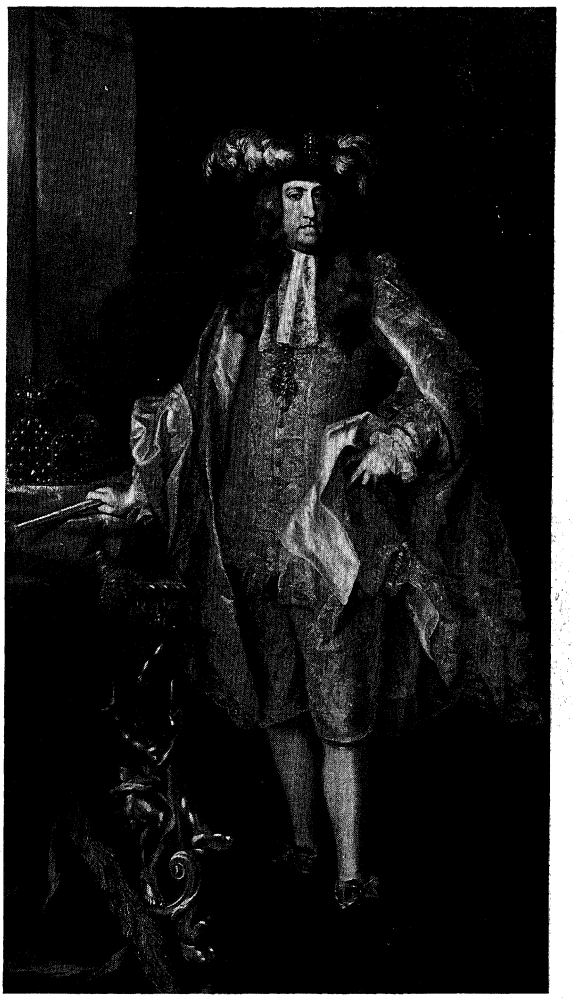
Charles clung to the remnants of the feudal system, for

the sake of his family, but there was one man in Austria who saw the vision of the new State and pursued it. To Prince Eugene, the Emperor's trusted General, rather than to any other leader in Austria, should be attributed the beginning of the development of the country – the emancipation from feudal tyranny and darkness.

In the Church, too, Charles VI found powers which were disturbing to his Habsburg ambitions.[6] The Habsburgs were loyal members of the Catholic Church, but they never forgot their right to rule and they had always refused to resign their privileges for the benefit of the spiritual powers. The Catholic princes had demonstrated their authority over the Church in the wars against the Protestants and in their individual actions. Charles inherited a sense of dominion over the Church from his father and his grandfather. Frederick III and Leopold I had forbidden the declaration of Papal bulls without their consent. Under Frederick III the Festival of the Immaculate Conception had been introduced into the Church service against the will of Pope Urban VII. He had also ordered that without belief in this doctrine nobody could obtain a doctorate in the universities. Maximilian I had decreed that no lands could be inherited by the monastic orders without State consent. Charles VI had been trained to regard this power as one of the prerogatives of his crown.

The emperors had always been generous towards the Church as respects taxes and funds, but they had never failed to exercise their authority in the control of the different monastic orders. The Capuchins during this period had great influence with the middle classes, whereas the Jesuits were the advisers of the princes and were greatly feared. They gained much power and wealth through their nearness to royal influence and favours.

During the reign of Charles VI's father, the Greek Church



CHARLES VI

after a portrait by Auerbach in the Imperial Art Museum, Vienna

had given much trouble. Through a law passed in 1690, the Greeks obtained the free practice of their religion, besides many political rights. During this time in western Austria the Protestants silently maintained their religious beliefs. In 1721 it was proclaimed that any adherence to a non-Catholic faith was a state offence. In spite of this, the number of heretics increased so that during the reign of Charles VI a closer inspection of the Protestant communities, especially those near Prague, was ordered. In all these movements the ruling princes and the government superseded the Church in attempting to exterminate Protestantism.

In Salzburg, Upper Austria, Styria, and Kärnten (Carinthia) the Protestant community increased, until in the time of Charles VI its activities were regarded not so much as an ecclesiastical menace, but as a political. Unity of faith was required to achieve political unity. In order to arrest the Protestant movement, high positions were offered to prominent citizens to join the Catholic Church.

Since the end of the Thirty Years' War the Evangelical tendency had been completely eradicated among the bourgeoisie and nobles. Its following was limited to the peasants. They outwardly returned to the Catholic Church, but really remained faithful to Protestantism. In Inner Austria, Protestantism assumed new activity through the persecution directed against the people of Salzburg. Many were forced to emigrate. These persecutions were renewed in 1727 by the Jesuits. In 1731 the Archbishop of Salzburg commanded all adherents of Protestantism to be exiled. An uprising was threatened, which was only quelled by a large body of troops sent by the Emperor. More than seventeen thousand persons were compelled to leave their homes.

Encouraged by the actions of the Salzburg peasants, the Protestants in Carinthia and Upper Styria increased in num-

bers. In 1733 the Protestants were compelled to emigrate into Siebenbürgen. This was the last great persecution of the Protestants in Austria before Maria Theresa's campaigns. Compulsion to adhere to the Catholic Church had so far proved to be a failure.

While all these revolutions came to State and Church, Charles VI yielded to the past rather than to the new demands of the changing life of his people. He was too closely wedded to his inheritance, too passionately allied to what had been, to bow his will to the future. He was Archduke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, but he had no son to take these glories from his hands when he died. The voices of the Habsburgs whispered to him from the dim centuries. He was heir to Charlemagne's dream of the great empire of Catholic people. The dream was already falling apart and the reality of Protestantism had emerged. He was Emperor of a people who had become divided in religion, and his dominion over the Catholics depended upon his own strength of character and his own talents. These were great, but the breaking up of the Holy Roman Empire had already begun and, devout as Charles was, the conditions of the day called for still another Charlemagne who could foresee and not merely remember. The Emperor believed that it was through the old glory of the Habsburgs that his Empire would be held together. For four hundred years the consorts of the Emperors had presented the Habsburgs with sons, as if nature herself were subject to the right of their succession. It was the fierce wish of Charles's life to see all that he inherited handed on to a male heir. It was because of this that he sighed when Maria Theresa was born. He turned with hope once more to wait for his consort to produce him a son.

CHAPTER III

Maria Theresa as a child. Life of the court in which she lived. Her education. Her first meeting with Francis of Lorraine. Maria Theresa's benevolence and her growing character

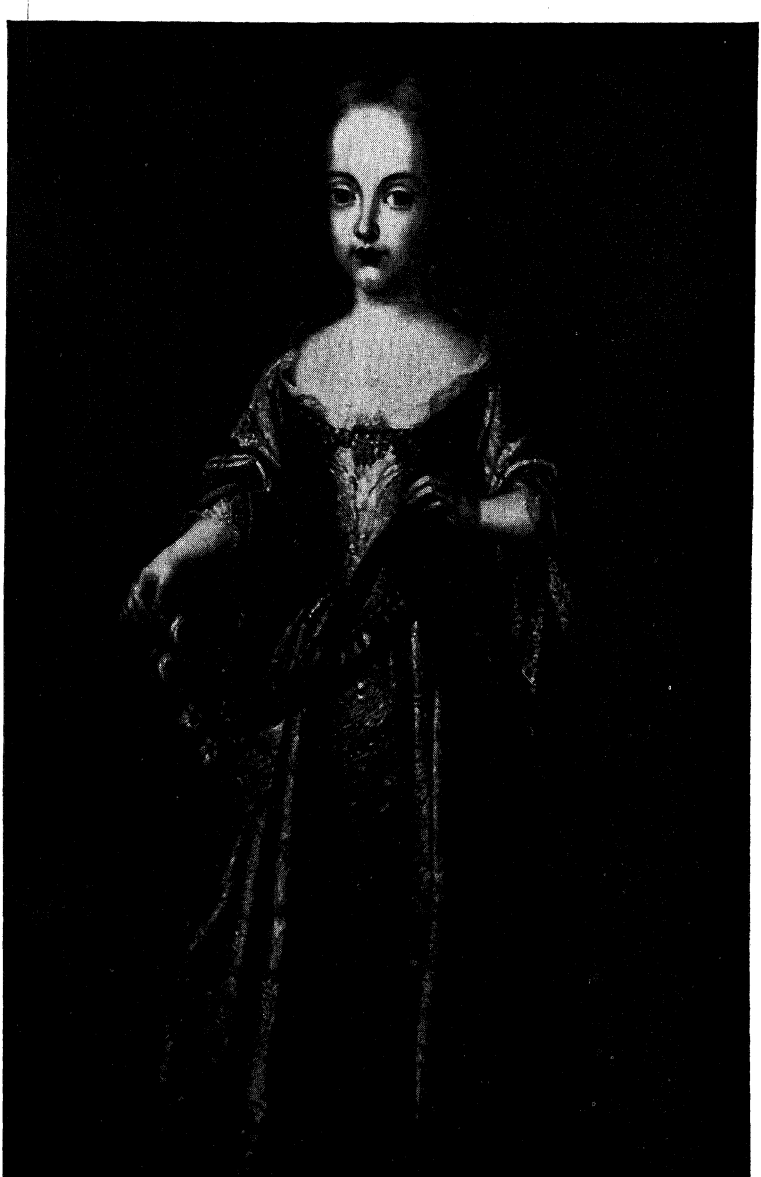
CHARLES VI did not withhold his love from the beautiful child. His consort was still young and strong and the future held promises for him. Maria Theresa, who was affectionately called Resel, was as enchanting as a princess should be. On the day of her birth the Emperor had proceeded in state to the Cathedral, where a special Te Deum was sung, with full orchestra. There was no wild cheering in the streets as there might have been for a son, but Vienna was pleased to know that a fair domestic wreath sat upon the brow of its Empress. Five drops of water from the sacred Jordan were used in the font from which Maria Theresa was christened and Spinoza, the Papal Nuncio, her grandmother, and the widow of her uncle Joseph were her

sponsors. She was named Maria Theresa Walburga Amalia Christina. To the mass of people she was the Archduchess Theresa and, perhaps, heir to the Habsburg throne.

Visitors to the court soon declared that Theresa inherited the qualities of both her mother and her father. As she emerged from babyhood, she showed her will to be strong. She was given some of her mother's beauty and, as her character formed itself, she showed her father's pride, his religious zeal, and his taste for music. The earliest portrait of her which remains to us still hangs in the Hofburg, where the ghosts of the Habsburgs now look out upon the tragic scenes of twentieth century Vienna. This portrait shows us Maria Theresa at the age of three, heavily dressed in a brocade gown. She stands like a painted marionette, stiff and regal, as the painter elected to see her. There is no hint of playfulness in her air; the one touch of life in the pretty marionette is her eyes. They are grey-blue and wide awake. Her forehead is broad and high and seems to overweigh the young, chubby cheeks. Those who saw her then remembered her as a pale, serious, and reserved child.

Maria Theresa's childhood does not yield many attractive stories which might endear her to us. We do not catch any echoes of childish laughter down the long galleries of the palace. We see the little Archduchess at the age of six, her slim childish body lost within her ponderous dress, standing at a window of the palace to view the Corpus Christi procession. When she saw her father pass, splendid with gold, she is said to have cried out: "Come here, Papa, and let me admire you."

When Maria Theresa was little more than a year old, Charles VI waited once more beside his consort's bed with the hope that she would give him the son he yearned for. Again Emperor and people were disappointed, for it was another Princess who joined Maria Theresa in the nurseries,



MARIA THERESA AT THE AGE OF THREE

after a portrait in the Hofburg, Vienna

and the Emperor was still haunted by the fact that he had no son.

Charles's faith in the bountifulness of nature was deep-rooted. Even after the birth of a second daughter he was so certain of the ultimate fulfilment of his wishes that he allowed Maria Theresa to embark upon a haphazard scheme of education, in no way fitting her for her inheritance. Jesuits guided her young mind, varying their instruction from religion to languages, to mathematics and history. They increased her piety, but it seems that they left her poor in actual learning. Her French and her German were ill spelled, even when she was Empress, and the arts of finance, war, and diplomacy, in which she was to become a mistress, were neglected. Talent sustained Maria Theresa where tuition failed her. She drew tolerably well under Anton Bertolli's instruction. Her natural taste led her to music, and when she was six years old, she sang in the small operas which were presented at court for her parents' pleasure. Two schools of policy would argue forever over the plan of Maria Theresa's education. If she had been the victim of a curriculum such as that which in England the Prince Consort forced upon his son, Maria Theresa might have been cowed by tradition and devoid of imagination and courage. As it was, she was not deliberately trained with the shadow of a crown over her. Her childhood was not forever harassed by the court machine. She was both happy and free from care.[1]

Her Jesuit teachers could not obliterate the pleasure the child had whenever she was with her parents. The Emperor was a martinet with his courtiers. Their very bows were measured, their steps counted, and their phrases censored. But Charles did not bring this hardness of manner into the domestic rooms of the palace. Either in their country place, twenty minutes' walk from the heart of Vienna, or at the

Hofburg, he was able to put aside his rules and regulations. The drill sergeant became a father with simple ideas of pleasure, devoted to his family circle. Eugen Guglia tells us in his life of Maria Theresa: "At the court strict Spanish etiquette ruled. . . . But the Imperial children were not much affected by these regulations. Even when they were grown up they were not compelled to observe these rules, and when they saw their parents, it was in a very simple manner, just as in the house of an ordinary citizen. In this, the Court of Vienna differed greatly from other courts, even those of the small German Princes. The speech and atmosphere of the Imperial family was very much the same as in the household of an ordinary citizen. Although the Emperor favoured greatly the French and especially the Italian language, the ordinary language of the household was German, and even an old-fashioned German, very much coloured by strong dialect. The nickname of Maria Theresa was in the Viennese dialect 'Reserl' or 'Resi,' and that of her sister 'Mariandl.' The Aunt was Mrs. Mahm, the father confessor was called Mr. Gött. And there were nicknames for certain days in the week and for the dolls." [2]

When Maria Theresa was but six years of age, she was taken to Prague by her parents. Charles VI was to be crowned King of Bohemia, a ceremony which had waited since his accession, and he took the opportunity of observing the second son of the Duke of Lorraine as a possible husband for his little daughter. Prince Francis Stephen was still in the schoolroom, but his appearance and manner pleased the Emperor so much that the boy was taken back to Vienna and housed in a wing of the Hofburg, to be educated for the great honour which was half-promised to him. The Emperor had already looked about Europe for a husband for his child and, a little time before, he had favourably considered the merits of the eldest son of the Duke of Lor-

raine. This lad had died of smallpox on the eve of his departure for Vienna.

Now the domestic line of Maria Theresa's life was set, although she was still struggling with the lessons of the Jesuits and still deeply devoted to her saints.

The young Prince Francis Stephen was fourteen when he was chosen to be educated as Maria Theresa's prospective husband. Francis Stephen was a charming, pleasure-loving boy. Poetry and music were not tempting to him and he preferred hunting with the Emperor, in the abundant forests about Vienna, to poring over his history books. His intellect was healthy but languid. He cared for all things except what was in books. Maria Theresa soon came to like him as a companion. Although her Jesuit teachers led her deeper and deeper into the mysteries of Catholicism, she remained worldly enough to admire the careless boy who pinned his faith more to the world than to the spirit. They were happy together from the beginning, but the way towards their betrothal was not to be easy. Many plans of ambition and intrigue were to disturb the serenity of their childhood friendship.

In 1725 another daughter was born to the Empress. Now the Emperor's hopes of male succession were thin indeed and he resigned himself to the fact that Maria Theresa was to inherit his crown, although it was impossible that she should ever bear the illustrious title of Empress of the Holy Roman Empire. At the age of eight Maria Theresa was already the focus for attention from all Europe. Although young Francis Stephen was living in the palace, there was no fixed promise that he should have Maria Theresa's hand. The Emperor tested many plans, in many places. His eldest child was a sad little pawn in the international game. Many splendid suitors were mentioned and observed. Elizabeth Farnese of Spain, restless and ambitious, had already planned

that Maria Theresa should marry her son, Carlos. Charles went so far as to make a pact with Spain for this marriage, but it was put aside under compulsion by other powers who dreaded the changes that would come to the balance of influence in Europe if the ruler of Austria were married to a Spaniard. It is said that even at the age of eight Maria Theresa was fully conscious of the importance of her destiny as a woman and that when the proposal of the Spanish marriage was made to her, she was so melancholy that she fell ill and did not flourish again until the plan was abandoned.

The most astounding project in the light of later history was a proposal that Maria Theresa marry Frederick the Great. This alliance between Prussia and Austria would have changed the history of Europe. But young Frederick of Prussia was a Lutheran and he refused to join the Catholic Church. It was not likely that Maria Theresa would abandon the faith which was the essence of her family's greatness. The plan was abandoned, although Charles never ceased to hanker after the alliance with Prussia, which would have given his house a strong claim upon Prussia's sword in time of need. He made a poor substitute for the security that this marriage would have brought him. He aided the betrothal between Frederick and Princess Elizabeth Christina of Brunswick, a relative of his own Empress. This, he hoped, would hold Prussia and his own dominions together in some semblance of friendship. Other plans glimmered on the horizon and faded away. But the path of Maria Theresa's love was set. Royal persons are not trained to expect the same emotional life as their subjects. Their hearts beat differently and the yearning for companionship is one of their terrible plights. Maria Theresa had found companionship in young Francis of Lorraine and she did not swerve from her desire to marry him.

The British Ambassador in Vienna observed the child's

devotion. "In spite of her strong soul," he wrote, "she shows a strong preference for the Duke of Lorraine. At night she sees him in her dreams, and all day she speaks to her lady-in-waiting about him, so that it is doubtful whether she will ever forget him, as she believes him born for her, and she will never forgive anybody who may cause their separation." [3]

Resignation must have come to the Emperor during these years. He saw the last hopes of male succession fade and consoled himself with the fact that he had made his house and inheritance safe through the Pragmatic Sanction, by which Maria Theresa was now his heir. He had devised this act many years before, when he came to the throne. It concerned the House of Habsburg and not the Holy Roman Empire. Now that his early care was shown to be justified, the Emperor sought the support of the powers of Europe for his act. He continued to put the cause of his house before the affairs of his country. He did not heed Prince Eugene's wise warning that the Pragmatic Sanction could be guaranteed only by "a full treasury and two hundred thousand fighting men." Charles spent his days in trying to safeguard his daughter's inheritance, but he did little to educate her for her task or to hasten the progress and increase the safety of his people or to develop an army to enforce the terms of this much cherished scheme.

Maria Theresa grew, independent of her father's obsessions and whims. Her way was to be lonely, but she was to be strong in pursuing it. There was one interlude of sadness for her. When she was twelve years old, the old Duke of Lorraine died and her beloved companion, Francis Stephen, was called back to his father's lands, to assume his crown. There was still no formal betrothal between them, but their fortunes were now set as one, and during the years of Francis Stephen's absence, she missed him greatly.

Her life became more and more confined to the court. Her rare glimpses of the existence of the common people came during her devotional pilgrimages through the streets to St. Stephen's or to the Schotten Church. Maria Theresa did not spare herself in these rigorous pilgrimages. Every feast-day was celebrated and on Good Friday she visited the graves of twenty saints, fortifying herself with prayer. Her piety was of a different kind from that of her father. She did not use her faith to exalt herself as a Habsburg. As she grew older she reached a fuller comprehension of human nature through her piety, a more loving understanding of the heart-aches of those who were her subjects.

Her usefulness was already beginning when she was fourteen years old. The beautiful Princess, now grown taller, was admitted to the meetings of the council and she took her place as heiress to the crown. Her father permitted her this view of the intricate way which spread before her, but he did not discuss affairs of State with her. She was silent at first, but, "however protracted the deliberations, she never betrayed any sign of weariness, but listened with the most eager attention to all she could understand." As she sat at the table of the council, she must have woven her own independent conception of her coming duty to the people. The first signs were given when she placed benevolent petitions before her father. She was no more than fifteen when she began to make demands upon his bounty, for the poor and the tormented. People came to realize the charity of her heart and she interceded so many times that the Emperor remonstrated and said to her: "You seem to think that a sovereign has nothing to do but grant favours." Her reply, in her fifteenth year, might have been a declaration of the theme of her life; she answered: "I see nothing else that can make a crown supportable."

The British Ambassador made one more wise observation:

"She is a Princess of the highest merit," he wrote, "she reasons and enters into the affairs. She admires her father's virtues but condemns his mismanagement and is of a temperament so formed for ruling and ambition, as to look upon him as little more than her administrator." [4]

CHAPTER IV

The romance of Maria Theresa and Francis of Lorraine. The difficulties of their betrothal. The sacrifice of Lorraine for a bride

FRANCIS STEPHEN was twenty years old when he left the court of Austria to assume his father's crown in Lorraine. Maria Theresa was then twelve. For three years the young prince practised the arts of government in his own country and travelled among the courts of Europe. These were the great years of his education. Whereas he left the wing of Charles VI as a charming but unfledged boy, he returned to Vienna and Maria Theresa as a man of the world. The gawkiness of boyhood had left him and he was something of a German beau, fastidious about his dress, able to recall his talks with George II at Windsor, his rides with the Prince of Wales, the opinions he had listened to at Versailles, and the interesting exchange of ideas with Frederick of Prussia, who had become a friend. He was no longer the guileless, pleasure-seeking boy. He played cards with princes and he walked and talked in the grand manner.

Through all these travels he was encouraged to believe that Charles of Austria at last agreed to his marriage with Maria Theresa. He was received in the court of St. James's, not only as Duke of Lorraine, but as the pledged husband of the future Empress of Austria. Everywhere he was greeted by Austrian ambassadors and he carried not only his own credentials, as ruler of Lorraine, but the letters and encouragement of Charles VI. There could be no doubt now. Maria Theresa loved him and they were good friends. The domestic side of the affair was apparently secure and the young Duke was justified, through Charles's encouragement, in thinking that he would share the throne of Austria with Maria Theresa, when the time came. He returned to Vienna, with his fine clothes, his fine manners, and his sophisticated gossip of the courts of Europe, wholly assured of his destiny.

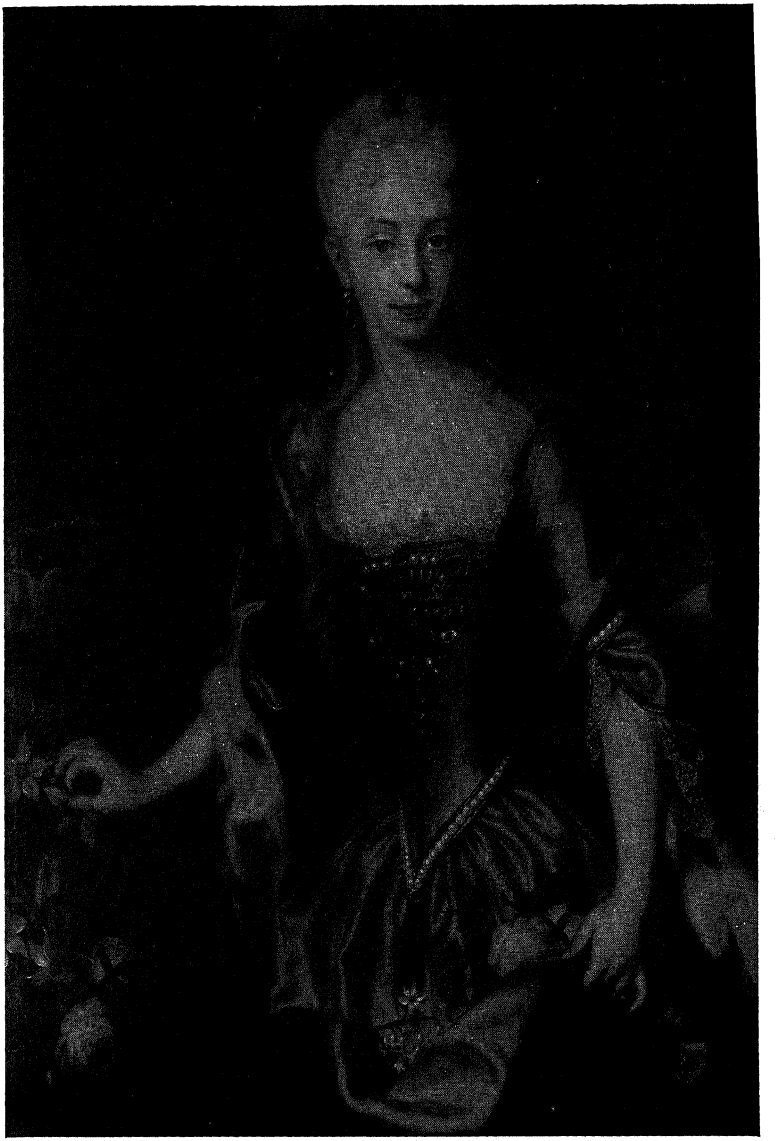
His first meeting with Maria Theresa after the years of separation must have touched them both deeply. The little stiff-dressed child who had sung to her father's playing, in a piping voice, was now a lovely girl. She no longer walked with the innocence of a child. Her eyes told him the story of her womanliness. She was tall, rarely beautiful, able to talk with him and to laugh with him and to listen with delight to the stories of the princes in England, and the gambling parties, the riding parties, and the splendour of the great castle on Windsor hill. He was able to talk of Versailles and to tell of his achievements in Lorraine, for a quick talent for finance had helped him to strengthen his country. The figures were set for the final scene of the romance. But neither Charles nor his Empress ever mentioned the betrothal to Francis. Charles would listen and smile as he talked with his dwarfs, his " two little monsters all bedaubed with diamonds," but he would not talk of the subject nearest to Francis's heart. Instead he had another plan for the

young Duke of Lorraine. He was sent off to become Governor General of Hungary. The honour proved the Emperor's confidence in him as a diplomat and as a prince, but it did not aid the cause of his matrimony.

Maria Theresa's will survived her father's plans. She was not strong physically, but there was no doubt as to the vigour of her mental qualities. "She had an inborn aptitude for observation, reflection and logical reasoning. Save in the sphere of religion, owing to her early training, where free thought was sacrilege, she was quite capable of thinking for herself. Her will was strong. All the repressive influences of her day had not been able to hinder the development of an unmistakable personality. She was resolved that nothing short of coercion would induce her to accept any husband but Francis of Lorraine. Her love for him was the sole romantic element in her life, and she clung to it."[1]

There were deep and agitating reasons for the Emperor's delay over his daughter's marriage. His desperate fears as to the continuity of the Habsburg power still obliterated all other issues from his mind and all other sympathies from his heart. What he now desired most was to have the ratification of all Europe to the Pragmatic Sanction. He neglected the affairs of his people and he emptied his coffers in coercing the governments of the other powers. At the time when Francis returned to Vienna from his elegant and triumphant tour of Europe, Charles was angling for the support of the Elector of Saxony to the Sanction.

When Francis had been in Hungary for one year, he perceived the reason for the Emperor's inhuman delay over his betrothal. This year, 1733, began the War of the Polish Succession and, in his zeal to induce the Elector of Saxony to add his support to the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles had pledged himself to support the Elector in his claim to the throne of Poland. Charles still wished to keep his daughter



THE ARCHDUCHESS MARIA THERESA AT THE AGE OF FIFTEEN

after a portrait in Hetzendorf Palace, Vienna

as a pawn in the game of his ambitions. She was eighteen when the War of the Polish Succession came to an end. Again her marriage became an important issue in the affairs of Europe. The Emperor was tempted now to marry her to the Prince of Bavaria. Prince Eugene encouraged this plan, foreseeing the need for new strength to Austria's hand. How inhuman were these dreams is obvious when one investigates the ages of the Prince and the Princess. Maria Theresa was eighteen and the boy to whom Charles wished to betroth her was eight years old.

The star which held the fates of Maria Theresa and her beloved Francis was more fixed than that of the Emperor's plots and plans. Even when these plans were abandoned, Charles was unable to be generous for the sake of his daughter's heart. He held a wicked pistol to Francis's head.

As a condition of the conclusion of the Polish war, it had been agreed with Cardinal Fleury of France that the Duke of Lorraine should be required to surrender his patrimony in return for Maria Theresa's hand. In exchange for the Duchy which he had inherited from his father, he was to receive the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The bargain was hateful to Francis. However ambitious he might have been to play his part in ruling Austria, Lorraine was his native land and he was asked to allow one half of his heart to bleed that the other might be healed. The Emperor was so conscious of his own duplicity that he dared not propose the bargain to Francis himself. He chose the most relentless man in his Ministry to do so. This was Bartenstein, who drew up the shameful document and coldly informed Francis that if he did not sign away his possessions he would not be allowed to marry Maria Theresa.[2]

All graciousness was bled out of the beautiful story. Instead of being a bride accepting her childhood friend as her husband, Maria Theresa became part of a mercenary bar-

gain which injured Francis's love forever. Maria Theresa's constancy was untouched and her resentment was for her father. But Francis lost half of his love with his birthright, and the full happiness which the two young people might have enjoyed was sacrificed to the Emperor's statecraft and ambition. Francis walked to the altar with resentment in his heart.

To sentimentalize over the broken hearts of princes does not accord with the history of the Habsburgs. Human emotions are embittered among those who walk in the blazing lights of palaces, and if love survives the plotting of kings, it is through magic. Francis returned to Hungary after he had signed away his beloved country. He was betrothed, but the spirit of his love was changed. The scene of the betrothal must have been poignant for both parties, because of the confusion of memories: the memories of their childhood together and the nearer recollection of the Emperor's bargaining with their hearts. It is said that they exchanged their promises in a summer-house in the gardens in which they had often played. Maria Theresa approached the bower wearing his portrait set in diamonds, as a sign that his suit was acceptable to her. We do not know if they spoke frankly to each other. The scene was spared from record. But we know from the letters that followed that both tried to forget the dismal circumstances clouding their love.

Francis wrote to Maria Theresa after he had returned to Hungary:

"*Most serene Duchess, my angel bride: Having received from His Majesty the Emperor most gracious permission to write to your dearness, I can no longer refrain from profiting by this act of condescension. Dearest, it will not be difficult for you to believe that nothing is harder for me than to approach you by letter instead of throwing myself at your feet. Let me, dearest of all brides, be fully assured that in all*

the world there is no bridegroom more entirely devoted and reverential than that of my angel. Your most faithful servant, Franz." [3]

It was upon Maria Theresa's constancy that the bond between them was to survive. Her first letter to him must have been strange and sad reading for him, after the document which Bartenstein had placed before him.

"*Dear Sweetheart,*" she wrote, "*I am under endless obligations to you for having sent me news concerning yourself, because I was uneasy, like a little dog, about you. Love me and forgive me that I do not write more, for it is ten o'clock and the messenger is waiting. Adieu, my little mouse, I embrace you with all my heart. Take good care of yourself, Adieu, sweetheart! I am your happy bride.*" [4]

Francis was alone in Hungary with his bitterness. The letter touched his heart and he tried not to be tardy in returning its ardour. "*I have this moment received my dearest's gracious letter,*" he wrote, "*and it is no small comfort to me, separated as I am from her. I assure you the days on which I do not hear from my dearest bride seem almost unendurable. I would be very downcast if I did not constantly remember our coming union on Sunday at the St. Augustine Church. Thereafter my happiness will be complete.*" [5]

CHAPTER V

The marriage of Maria Theresa and Francis. Francis as a soldier in the war against Turkey. His disgrace

THE MISGIVINGS which disturbed Maria Theresa and Francis were not betrayed at their wedding. The mass of people who loved pageantry were delighted by the sight of the bridegroom "dressed in white, with a mantle of silver tissue," and of the bride, tall and slender, her eyes shining, her golden hair, and her dress laden with diamonds. The fulfilment which came with her marriage gave Maria Theresa the four happiest years of her life, despite the death of her eldest child, a girl who lived until she was three. The two children who followed, in 1738 and 1740, were also girls. Maria Theresa might have paused to be anxious over this, remembering the unhappiness which the Pragmatic Sanction had brought to her destiny.

Tragedy befell Maria Theresa, her father, and the State in the death of Prince Eugene. He was the great and distinguished patriarch of Austrian affairs. What glory came to Charles through inheritance came to Eugene through

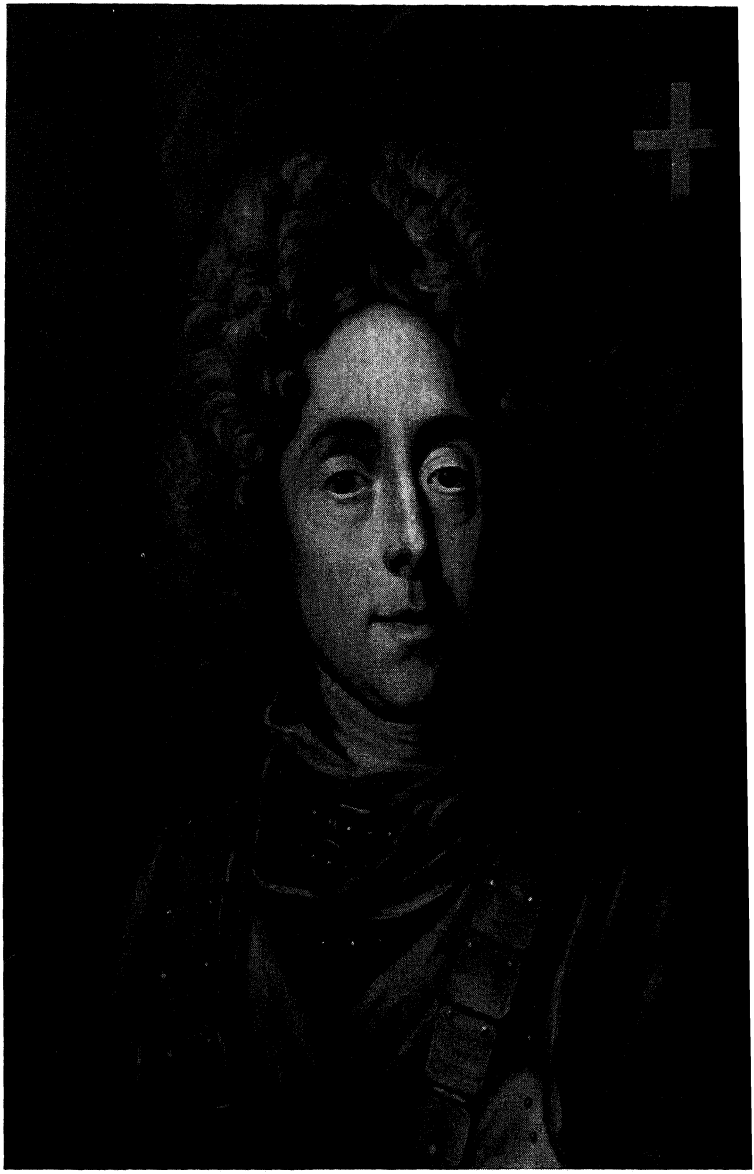
conquest and, in mind and courage at arms, he was a noble leader. His imagination and æsthetic sensibility distinguished him beyond most of his contemporaries in Europe. He had served Austria under three emperors, and his reputation outside the boundaries of his country was such that Frederick the Great declared him to be " the real Emperor of the Germans." It was Eugene who prevented the Turks from capturing Vienna and from bringing their Moslem force and thought into Christian Europe. He won and held the eastern frontier of Christendom. Eugene had no successor. Lesser men like Bartenstein took up the reins which he had held so splendidly, but a great age had passed with the death of the most romantic figure of Maria Theresa's childhood.

Bartenstein was clever, loyal, and haughty. He was lowly born and he enjoyed all the intoxication of royal favour and power, but he lacked the supreme gifts of Prince Eugene. When Charles VI and his advisers made the last, terrible mistake of his reign in projecting another war with Turkey, neither Bartenstein nor any other ministers were strong enough to discourage him. The Emperor was blind without Eugene's advice. He hurried into war with neither the army nor the treasury to sustain his cause. What matters in this story, in which one must not lose sight of the central figures, is the part played by Francis, now the Emperor's son-in-law and soon to be declared Duke of Tuscany.

In the early days of the last disastrous war against Turkey, Francis joined the Austrian troops, on the wings of Maria Theresa's encouragement. She did not wish him to remain idle and she welcomed this chance for him to win his spurs. Seckendorf, who had been placed in supreme command of the army, was a Lutheran. The appointment was so disastrous that Seckendorf was thrown into prison and the country divided itself, Lutheran against Catholic. It was not easy then to abide by Charles's excuse for the war – that he was

fighting in the name of Christendom – for Christendom itself was split in great bitterness. We narrow the company down once more to Maria Theresa and her husband. She loved him with the added intensity which marriage had brought to her. Her great wish was to console Francis for losing Lorraine to the French; her prayer was that he should prove himself so well that he would find compensations for his sacrifice. The war against the Turks seemed to offer him his opportunity. Francis fought well at first. He was present during a victory and his name rang through Vienna. People wildly imagined that he was heir to the talents of Eugene. But the light of success withdrew. He failed in his next battle and returned to Vienna in ignominy. Once more he went to the front, for it was not in courage that he was poor. But he led the army to disaster and came back to Vienna to be the butt of the cries in the street. A year before, he had been the Galahad of Vienna. Now every cruel slander possible was invented against him. He was disloyal. The harmless accident which had made him a Freemason [1] when he was a boy, on his travels, was now built up into a fabulous charge against him. The Emperor withdrew his favour from him, and Bartenstein, remembering with bitterness how unwillingly Francis had signed the promise to give up Lorraine, turned into an open enemy. Francis was the saddest and most humiliated man in the country, and more than ever he needed the love and trust which Maria Theresa kept for him.

When he was given Tuscany as a consolation for the loss of Lorraine, Francis had been obliged to wait upon the death of the last of the Medicis before he could ride into Tuscany as Duke. Destiny did him one kindness in the hour of his despair. The old Duke died and Maria Theresa and Francis were able to turn their backs on Vienna and to drive into their own little country until the dark season of Vienna's



PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY

after a portrait by Van Schüppen

anger against them was over. There is still a record in Frienguolo of the first night they slept in Tuscany. Unhappiness pursued them. The story of Francis's disasters in battle were already being told in the streets of Florence. As they entered the city, with their two-months-old baby, after a perilous and cold journey through the Tirol, disturbed by rumours of plague, they found many silent, ungracious faces. There was a triumphal arch and the Archbishop honoured them at the door of the cathedral.[2] But there was little of the kindliness which the young couple needed and they were not sorry when their three days in Florence were over.

The anger against Francis in Vienna did not abate, and at one point the Emperor went so far as to soothe his discontented people by planning to marry his second daughter to the still young Elector of Bavaria and to change the order of the succession in his favour. This last ignominy was happily spared to Maria Theresa and her young husband.

There was one great compensation for Francis during this sad journey into Tuscany. When he had renounced Lorraine, on the eve of his betrothal, others had suffered in addition to himself. His younger brother had been deprived of his birthright, and his mother, a proud, independent woman, had reviled him for selling his father's country in the hope of winning an Imperial crown. The old Duchess of Lorraine had refused to accept patrimony from Austria and she had closed her heart against her son. She met her son and Maria Theresa during their journey. The little domestic scene softened her heart. The sight of her first grandchild and the gentle frankness of Maria Theresa reconciled her, and, although they never met again in the five years through which the old Duchess had yet to live, Francis was able to feel that at least one bitterness had passed out of his troubled life.

Austria's unhappy war against Turkey continued. Charles, with the knowledge which came too late to be of use to him, cried, many times: "Is the fortune of my Empire departed with Eugene?" He had two alarms to haunt these closing years of his life. His army was demoralized and he cried again and again over "that unfortunate, that fatal retreat" to Belgrade.[3] And then the old ghost arose. Maria Theresa was not in Austria, and if he died, any plot might flourish overnight to break the succession. The Elector of Bavaria might arrange for her not to return! There were many forms for the ghost to assume, many pretenders whose faces rose out of the miasma to increase his melancholy. In the end Charles could bear his losses and his separation from his daughter no longer. Maria Theresa and Francis were summoned back to Vienna. But they came quietly, for the anger of the populace was still strong against them.

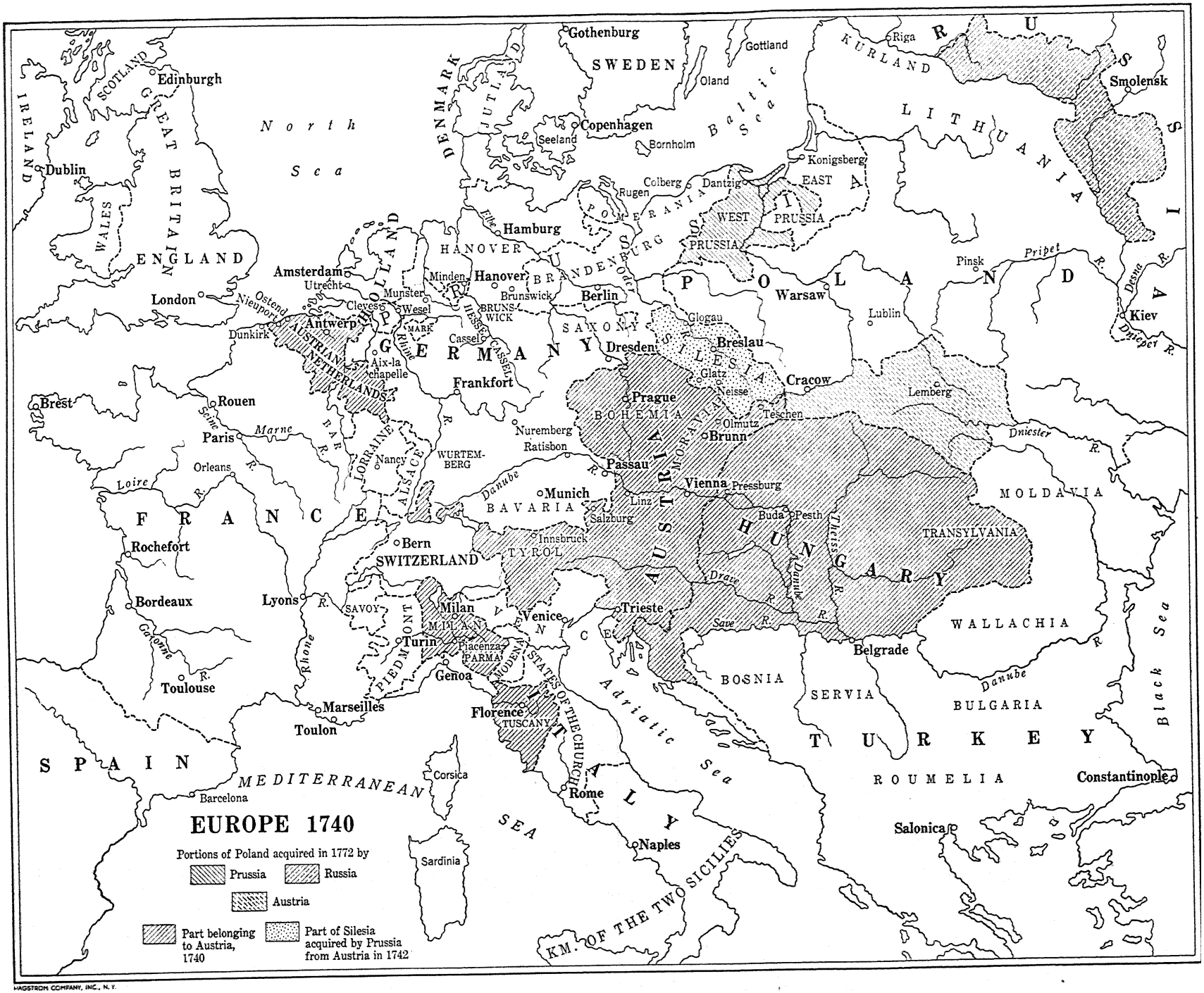
CHAPTER VI
Death of Charles VI

THE RELATIONSHIP between a sovereign and his heir is one of the mysteries of human nature seldom elucidated by historians. Belonging to a unique pattern of life and bound by traditions which are exclusively theirs, royal persons remain in a rarefied atmosphere which is beyond ordinary comprehension. The ancient cry of the divine right to rule may be story-book romance in the twentieth century, but sovereigns once believed in this right, just as Mahomet believed in the voice which spoke to him in the cave by Mecca. One cannot therefore view a sovereign and his heir, in any period of history, and expect to find the emotions and sympathies which exist between any other parent and child. Princes are caught in the ancestral tide so strongly that they dare not listen to their own hearts. Charles VI continued under this curse to the end. He might have garnered a lesson from his reflections during the exile of Maria Theresa and Francis in Tuscany. But he still failed

to help them towards the strength and wisdom which they would require when his life was ended. He squandered some of the fairest lands in his Empire to bribe foreign powers to admit the validity of the Pragmatic Sanction. He had lost Lorraine to France, Naples and Sicily to Spain, and part of Lombardy to the King of Sardinia – all to make his daughter secure upon her throne. He had lost lands to Turkey and he had embittered his son-in-law, all to strengthen Maria Theresa's hold upon her inheritance. Yet he had never tried to teach her the ways of government.

When Maria Theresa and Francis returned to Vienna, they lived obscurely on the edge of the Imperial glory. Their own children became a bond between the disappointed heiress and her husband. Maria Theresa attended to her duties as daughter, wife, and mother. She referred to this period, in later years, as a "lost paradise." The mother instinct was strong in Maria Theresa, and however ambitious she became over her own daughters in later years, for Austria's sake, they began their lives in domestic serenity. The wars and troubles which harassed Charles's closing years were not allowed to cast clouds over the nursery. The penalty Maria Theresa had to pay for these years of domestic happiness was her ignorance, when the glorious and dreadful hour of her accession came. She gathered no knowledge of statecraft to bring to the throne although, as Arneth says, she had a broad knowledge of affairs which, combined with a certain masculinity of spirit, gave her the will to learn.[1] She realized this lack and complained of it when the time came, although her criticisms were always tempered by the outward reverence she held for her father.

Maria Theresa and Francis made no court of their own to which they might have invited the great men of the day. They were guests in their father's house. Even through



HAGSTROM COMPANY, INC., N. Y.

the years of war and anxiety, music and art held their own in the life at Schönbrunn and in the Hofburg. Charles still directed musical performances and he still composed. Scarlatti and Fuchs were constant visitors. There is no trace then or in later years of Maria Theresa caring for the new German music of Händel, and she preferred the warm romantic phrases of Italian music to the stately and calm themes of Bach.

Charles VI died in October 1740. Early in the year the load of his anxieties had become too much for him. The war with Turkey, the loss of Serbia and part of Wallachia, and the surrender of Belgrade made him realize the bitter due he had paid for his monarchist ambitions. And there were fresh domestic sorrows! How violent and unceasing was his need for a male heir is realized in the story of his vow that if the Empress died before him, he would marry again and try once more to produce a son. But the Empress lived. Charles's life with his daughter was further saddened in July of this, his last year, when Maria Theresa's eldest daughter died of gastric fever. The British Ambassador wrote: "The Grand Duchess was inconsolable. This was also a blow to the Emperor. Much of his interest in life seemed to depart with this three-year-old child, who had entwined herself around his affections." One last hope lightened the closing months of the Emperor's reign. Maria Theresa was to have another child. The old ghosts stirred about the ailing King. Perhaps now, after the years of his own disappointment — after the disappointments of Maria Theresa's own attempts to give a male Habsburg to Austria — perhaps now, at the end of his life, the gods would give him what he had fought for. They withheld their blessing long enough to allow him to die in disappointment. It was not until March of the year after Charles's death that Joseph was born.[2]

The scenes of Charles's last illness are described in con-

temporary accounts. According to the dispatches of the British Ambassador, "the decline of the Emperor's health was occasioned by the agitation of his mind." Charles had set out with his family for a holiday in Hungary. He no doubt wished to lose the recollection of his disaster, in hunting expeditions, which he loved. His physicians had remonstrated, for he was already ill. "The weather was extremely cold and changeable during the whole time, with a succession of frost, snow and rain, and although he was seized with a cholic soon after his arrival, he eagerly pursued his favourite diversion, until his disorder became serious in consequence of unremitted fatigue and the inclemency of the season. On the 10th at night his complaint was increased by an indigestion, occasioned by a dish of mushrooms stewed in oil, of which he ate voraciously." [3]

It was of this disastrous meal that Voltaire wrote: "A pot of mushrooms changed the history of Europe."

The Emperor spent the night in vomiting and in pain, and next day he was taken back to Vienna "in a state of such extreme sickness and debility, that he fainted several times during the journey."

The last scenes were in La Favorita, one of the palaces which he loved. Glimpses of his royal courage relieve the sadness of the Emperor's last days. "When his disorder was declared mortal he would not believe his danger, and sportively rallied his physicians on the falsity of their prognostics." "Cease your disputes at present," he said to them as they argued over him. "Open my body after death, and you will then be able to ascertain the cause."

In another room of the palace Maria Theresa waited hourly for news of her father's state. She had broken down when she was taken to his room, and the advice he had given her stirred her to such tears that it was not thought wise for her to see him again. Strange and deeper emotions were

abroad in these closing hours. The Emperor turned in his bed towards the apartment occupied by his eldest daughter. He uttered the benediction which she could not come to receive, and on October 20, 1740 he died, after having ruled his troubled countries for thirty years.

CHAPTER VII

Maria Theresa's rivals for power. The rise of Frederick the Great. Maria Theresa's old ministers. Frederick's invasion of Silesia

SOME HISTORIANS have held that Charles VI placed too much faith in human nature when he imagined that the Pragmatic Sanction would assure Maria Theresa the Habsburg possessions. Whether he was thus mistaken, one cannot say, but it is true that by ignoring Prince Eugene's advice to rely more upon soldiers than signatures to support his daughter's rights, he left the dominions and finances and army of Austria to Maria Theresa in a sorry state. One views her anxieties in two groups, those which were domestic, originating within her provinces, and those which involved her with the other powers of Europe. It has been said that "No princess ever ascended a throne under circumstances of greater peril, or in a situation which demanded more energy, fortitude and judgment." [1] That she possessed these qualities was subsequently to be revealed. But her courage was demonstrated immediately, in her retort to a whispered

comment when she ascended the steps of the throne. As the young Queen turned to her ministers and her husband and, losing her self-command for only an instant, wept, a minister said: "Oh, if she were only a man endowed with all that she possesses!" [2] She heard and she paused to answer: "Though I am only a queen, yet have I the heart of a king." [3]

It was thus fortified that she faced the internal trouble of her unsettled country. "The treasury contained only 100,000 florins, which were claimed by the Empress Dowager; the army, exclusive of the troops in Italy and the Low Countries, did not amount to 30,000 effective men." All was disorder and alarm. Vienna was short of provisions, the vintage was cut off by the frost, and "the peasants in the neighbourhood of Vienna, inflamed by agents from the town, assembled in large bodies to destroy the game." [4] As Maria Theresa prepared to gather her little forces of experience together, to rule her people, they were frowning and spreading the dreadful rumour that the Elector of Bavaria was hourly expected to oust her from the throne.

These internal anxieties were the least of her troubles. The day of her accession, when she assumed the titles of Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, came at a time when "the political morality of Europe was at a very low ebb." The powers which had given their bond to the Pragmatic Sanction soon forgot the obligations of their bargains. The Elector of Bavaria, the Elector of Saxony, Elizabeth Farnese of Spain, and the King of Sardinia all coveted portions of Maria Theresa's inheritance. The question of the crown of the Holy Roman Empire was beyond her control.[5] As a woman she could not assume it, but she had always fondly hoped that her father would assure it to her husband. This was one of the battles which awaited her in the offing. The Imperial title was to be bestowed in Frankfort and Maria

Theresa could do nothing to influence the electors in the meantime.[6] But she had all Europe knocking, in mixed friendship and enmity, at her gate. In the east, Turkey was no longer an imminent menace. Wars with Persia kept the Sultan too busy for ambitions in the west. Russia presented no immediate dangers, for she was also in the throes of change. The dumb Emperor, Ivan VI, had just come to the throne, aided by his mother, Anna of Brunswick, as regent. Russia was also alarmed by her neighbours the Swedes, who were beset with ambitions to regain the Baltic Provinces, which had been lost to Russia. When she turned her troubled eyes to the east, Maria Theresa had little to fear. Her potential enemies were the Elector of Bavaria, Cardinal Fleury in France, Elizabeth Farnese in Spain, and, greatest and most fearful of all, the new young monarch who had ascended the throne of Prussia and who was already planning the glorious victories which were to earn for him the name of Frederick the Great.

Maria Theresa found herself alone in a world of enemies. She made her husband co-regent and she officially shared the throne with him, but she reassured the Austrians by promising that these honours were bestowed on him " without giving over in the least the possessions of our inherited lands. . . ."

In her first plea for support from the other powers she was successful. The King of Prussia, who was to become her arch-enemy, supported her claims. He pledged his friendship in a letter to Francis. Augustus, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony, announced his friendship. Russia abided by the promises which she had made to Charles, and the King of England sent his reassurances to the young Queen. But France resorted to subtlety and played a waiting game. The French government sent no formal acknowledgment of the notification of Maria Theresa's accession and, with

a network of excuses, they bided their time. Cardinal Fleury was still the vicious and clever power of France. He would not commit his country lest, when the time came, he should be unable to oppose the election of Francis to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire. Maria Theresa might have calmed her fears of attack from the French because the country was poor and ruled by an incompetent king. She did not know that as early as 1714 France and Bavaria had signed a pact anticipating the time when the Elector of Bavaria would claim the succession of the Habsburgs, together with the Imperial throne.[7]

If the young Queen's unpractised hands were busy with these problems, they found still more alarming work to do when Frederick of Prussia came out into the open, with a sword quickly substituted for the olive branch which he had waved only a little time before. Now the bloody way of Maria Theresa's wars was set, and the untutored Princess of Austria was to begin on the career which was to prove her the defender and the reformer and the great matriarch of her country. Before one follows her thus, into the blaze of her courageous defence of her inheritance, one must observe the ministers upon whom she had to rely, to support her against her enemies.

Although Maria Theresa was happy with her husband, he did not give her the forces she needed to help her to govern the country. She wrote the words "dearest husband" from her heart, but she needed a Melbourne to sustain her and advise her, and he was not at hand. Her father left Maria Theresa a septuagenarian court of ministers. They were weary, settled in mind, and no longer vigorous enough to cope with new problems. The most notable of them were the First Court Chancellor, Count Philip Ludwig Zinzendorf, and the President of the Chamber, Count Gundaker Thomas Starhemberg.[8] One was in his seven-

tieth year, and the other was seventy-seven. Starhemberg had held his office since 1703. He was chief magistrate of the Bank of the City of Vienna, which financed the Imperial wars of 1706. He was trustworthy, but he had his own firm views about international relationships and he favoured co-operation with Prussia, Russia, and the States General of the Netherlands. He did not share the vigorous wish of Maria Theresa's life, that the Habsburgs should remain intact and independent and strong, against all Europe.

Zinzendorf was not of the same honest calibre. He had lived a full and self-indulgent life, and he was often preyed upon by his debtors. It was said that he had accepted bribe money from other powers and that he was hand in hand with Cardinal Fleury. Young as she was, Maria Theresa was wise enough to realize the duplicity and the weakness of the men left over from her father's reign. She admitted, in 1751, that Count Zinzendorf was "a great Minister," but that he did not have her "entire confidence." Of Starhemberg she wrote that he possessed her trust "fully" and that she "venerated him" although he "did not have as much political insight as Zinzendorf." [9]

She was a young woman of twenty-four, dependent upon the whims and prejudices of a company of veterans. Count Ahlois Raimond von Harrach was also in his seventies. He had been a diplomat in foreign countries, but without distinction. There was also Count Joseph Harrach, a younger brother, and the seventy-year-old Count Königsegg. Harrach had tried to adopt the glorious cloak of Prince Eugene. He was at the head of the army, but Maria Theresa soon saw that the "good war president" was "slow." Königsegg was so careful and tardy that he never accomplished anything. Only one man among her councillors earned

from her the description of "capable." He was Count Ferdinand Herberstein, aged forty-five.

Perhaps the most picturesque, if the most alarming, of her advisers was Bartenstein. Maria Theresa's attitude towards him is one of the most important keys to her mind at this time of her accession. Bartenstein had been her enemy.[10] He had bullied her husband into sacrificing Lorraine so that he could marry her. The scene was never forgotten by either of them. Bartenstein was the evil genius who had done his best to embitter them in their marriage. But Maria Theresa was too strong in her devotion to the State to allow her prejudice to rule her. In retrospect, she wrote of her problem at this time: "I resolved not to hide my ignorance, and to listen to each in his department, and thus obtain correct information." [11] This breadth of view governed her from the beginning. When Bartenstein also remembered the scene with Francis and no doubt sensed the disfavour with which both Maria Theresa and Francis viewed him, he asked to be allowed to resign. Maria Theresa wished him to remain and to do his duty to the State. In speaking of her ministers, Maria Theresa later used these shrewd words: "Counsellors too prejudiced to give useful advice, but too respectable to be dismissed."

It was with this tattered remnant of her father's court that Maria Theresa began her reign. We can only guess at her bewilderment as she contemplated the problems of the rest of Europe. Her father's old enemy Cardinal Fleury still withheld the letter which was to announce France's acceptance of her as ruler of the Austrian states. When the letter came, after three months' delay, it named her as sovereign, but it contained no acknowledgment of the old promise given to Charles VI at the time of the signing of the Pragmatic Sanction. There was a naïve trustfulness in Maria

Theresa which might have become dangerous to her. She did not yet believe that governments would repudiate their engagements.

Maria Theresa had assumed the crown of Hungary immediately on her father's death, but the Hungarians were restless people and her troubles were increased by the fear that, abetted by the Turks, they might "attempt to revive their elective monarchy."

Frederick, the young King of Prussia, did not rely exclusively upon such intangible forces as ancient treaties or claims of inheritance in planning his seizure of Maria Theresa's provinces.[12] He was at the beginning of his reign, as was Maria Theresa. He had had a hideous childhood. Frederick's father had been an odious and a cruel man although he had likewise been "Prussia's greatest King in respect of domestic policy." Perhaps one scene from the long and melancholy drama of Frederick's childhood is sufficient to point the difference between father and son. When Frederick the younger at last decided to try to escape to England, his father had him thrown into prison. "The wretch does not deserve to live," wrote the King. Katt, who had helped Frederick in his plan, was executed before the young Prince's window and "officers held the poor lad facing the scaffold while his friend was executed." Such terrible experiences, which continued until the King's death, had given Frederick a troubled spirit. His poetry and his music made people suppose that he would be a dreamer upon the throne. The ambitious warrior who emerged was a surprise to the world.

There were many reasons why Maria Theresa should have expected friendship from Frederick of Prussia. Her grandfather had aided the Hohenzollerns in their elevation from electors to kings. Also, her father had interceded on Frederick's behalf during his quarrels with his father. "He

has Your Majesty alone to thank," Frederick I had written to Charles VI when he made peace between father and son, in November 1730.

Maria Theresa was trustful and, so far, Frederick had made none but friendly gestures towards her. But he underwent a strange transformation when he ascended the throne. For a moment he put aside his flute and his verses. One of his first changes was in the army. He strengthened his forces with seven infantry regiments. Maria Theresa was justified in not becoming anxious over these signs. She ruled thirteen million subjects. Frederick of Prussia ruled no more than two and a half million. It did not seem that, in view of the difference in the size of their countries, Frederick could ever be a dangerous enemy.

The introversion to which Frederick had been forced as a boy had produced its own philosophy. He was not wholly convinced of the merits of the monarchic system as it had existed in Europe. "One must put new blood into the ruling families," he once said. "Their bastards are worth more than their legal offspring." He developed his own conception for the relationship between sovereign and State. "The prince should be the first servant of his people," he wrote.

When Frederick began to reign, the area of his Kingdom was restricted, the land was arid and the people were poor. His father had bled every source to maintain his big army. Plenty ruled in the lands of Frederick's neighbours and he envied them. Prussia had no literature, no art, and little architecture. Frederick's nature longed for power, and his tastes were in the direction of music and art. He was drawn to the French conception of life. He wished to rule an enlightened people who would express their prosperity in cultivated pursuits and aspire to the humanitarian ideal of French enlightenment. French was Frederick's favourite tongue. He had surrounded himself with French men of

letters and he became "the secret partner of French affairs." He was lonely as a sovereign, for he was not tied to the other royal houses of Europe as were the Bourbons and the Habsburgs. He exploited the advantages of his isolation and he planned his own independent conquest of the world. Frederick was capable of grand decisions. His father's cruelty had hardened him, but it had not warped him. He could dream, but he could also force his dreams into the realm of reality.

The nearest and most desirable of Maria Theresa's dominions was Silesia. Frederick was able to produce documents in support of his claim to it and, if historical evidence is excuse for military aggression, there was excuse also for the preparations which Frederick made for invasion. The first year of his reign was to be illuminated by conquest. As a moral fillip to his designs, Frederick searched into the archives of his family and based his claims upon old and vague pacts. There was, he alleged, every justification for his wresting Silesia from the young Empress.

While Maria Theresa was still unaware of his plans, Frederick's army was on the march. "Powerful reasons compel me to exhibit the marks of vigour and firmness at the beginning of my reign," [13] he wrote. And in a letter he declared: "I will either perish or I will have the honour of that enterprise." Rumours came to Maria Theresa: friends and enemies warned her of his ambition, but she still believed in him. It was not until Count de Botta went to Berlin to investigate in her name that she was convinced. Count de Botta talked with Frederick himself. The King had pacified him and had been reminded of his friendship for Maria Theresa. He had even assured Botta that whatever military designs he had in mind were only for the well-being of Austria. Count de Botta was not convinced. He reported to his sovereign: "I have unfortunately more than reason

to be assured that it is the King's undoubted plan to take possession by force of Silesia, with God knows how many principalities, and to have allegiance paid him there."

On the heels of this dreadful news Frederick's own emissary arrived in Vienna. Baron Gotter, who was Frederick's Grand Marshal, delivered his King's ultimatum. "I come with safety for the House of Austria in one hand, and the Imperial crown in the other," he began, in his address to Francis, who received him on behalf of Maria Theresa. "The troops of my master are at the service of Her Majesty," he continued, "and cannot fail to be acceptable at a time when she stands in such sore need, and can depend only on so considerable a prince as the King of Prussia and his allies, the maritime powers and Russia. As the King, my master, from the situation of his dominions will be exposed to great danger from this alliance, it is hoped that, as an indemnification, the Queen of Hungary will not offer him less than the whole Duchy of Silesia. Nobody is firmer in his resolutions than the King of Prussia; he must and will enter Silesia; once entered, he must and will proceed; and, if not immediately secured by the cession of that province, his money and his troops will be offered to the Elector of Bavaria and the King of Saxony." [14]

Maria Theresa showed new forces of courage. She was about to be a mother for the fourth time, and she was weakened and tired from the domestic conflicts following her father's death. She would not even receive Gotter. It was her husband who gave words to her courage in his answer to Gotter's challenge.

"Are your troops actually in Silesia?" Francis asked. Gotter assured him they were, and Francis apparently withdrew to carry the news to Maria Theresa. Some historians state that she opened the door and called him, fearing, no doubt, that he would weaken before Gotter's persuasion.

She sent him back next day with her answer. "Go then, return to your master," said Francis. ". . . Tell him that while he has a man in Silesia, we will rather perish than enter into any discussion. But if he is either not entered, and will abstain from entering, or, if entered, will return, we will treat with him at Berlin. . . . For my part, not for the Imperial crown, nor even the whole world, will I sacrifice one right or one inch of the Queen's lawful possessions." [15]

Gotter returned to his King. Frederick's first essay at the role of conqueror was confused by Maria Theresa's show of courage. Meanwhile, her spirit flowed out from the Hofburg and inspired her people. The little enmities of Vienna and the surrounding country withered before this peril from the north. When her Field Marshal announced her appeal for support to her army, they had only one voice in pledging their lives to her cause.

Gotter was sent to Vienna once more, with a modified proposal. Perhaps Frederick had acted too grandly! He had obeyed the views which he had expressed a few years before, when he wrote: "The politics of great monarchs have always been the same. The fundamental principle is unchanging, to grasp everything, in order to enrich themselves."

The cause of Frederick's rebellious traits may be traced to his ancestry. In the middle of the seventeenth century a certain Eleanor Desmier d'Olbreuse, a beauty of the court of Venice, married the Count George William of Brunswick-Celle. Her daughter, Sophie Dorothea, later became the wife of George Ludwig of Hanover, who ascended the throne of England as George I. Her love romance with Count Königsmarck and her imprisonment in the Castle of Ahlden are historical facts. She was the ancestor of the Queen Sophie Dorothea, the mother of Frederick. The characteristics of these unhappy and luck-

less personalities seem to have been handed down to their progeny. A spirit of mistrust and disdain, due to unfortunate circumstances, was naturally developed. Perhaps we can also trace the peculiar characteristics of Frederick, who was a born actor and diplomat, to his ancestors – great-grandmother, grandmother, and mother – whose careers were surrounded with such tragic circumstances. His mother was more or less of a prisoner, harassed by her blustering, bullying husband, Frederick William. The malice of his father, which almost amounted to torture, hardened his nature in his early youth. In this world of established dynastic institutions in which he lived he was a revolutionary and bitterly opposed to purely dynastic interests without the foundation of a real people and state. He deeply resented the vices of cunning and trickery of the Machiavellian idea and denounced the hypocrisy which gave a veneer of virtue to the vices of the day. It is clear from various extracts of his writings which appeared from time to time that he had been preparing his attack on the House of Austria for a long period, and he was convinced, before the protest of Bavaria, that several powers would not remain quiet, but would make use of this opportunity to usurp Maria Theresa's title to the throne.

Perhaps he had rushed into the campaign, to prove his theories, with too little deliberation! The second proposal which he sent to Maria Theresa shows that he must have been reminded of the promises which his father had given in the Pragmatic Sanction. He offered to accept a part of Silesia in return for a payment in money. Again Maria Theresa refused to see Gotter, and Francis sent him back to Prussia with a scornful reply to his master. But Frederick was already at the head of thirty thousand troops in Silesia. He had urged his soldiers farther into Silesia and he celebrated New Year's Day of 1741 by entering Breslau. Many

of the Silesians who were Protestants welcomed him, and when January ended, most of the province was in his hands. His invasion was so peaceful that he was able to set the machinery of control to work and he gathered in the revenue, in his name.

CHAPTER VIII

Domestic sorrows during the Silesian war. Occupation of Breslau. Birth of a male Habsburg heir and rejoicing. Battle of Mollwitz. France joins Frederick. The wavering support of England

JANUARY OF 1741 was a dark month in Maria Theresa's life. While she waited anxiously, day by day, for news of Frederick's plans and advances, her youngest daughter died. Only seven months before, she had lost another child.[1] The British Ambassador wrote: "This affliction, with so many other trials, comes very hard upon the Queen, who is near her time of lying-in." Her subjects had been drawn to her, in true loyalty, by the threats of Prussia, but Maria Theresa was haunted by another fear. If her next child were another girl, it might put a strain upon the affections of her people. She turned devoutly to her saints.

But these domestic affairs were not allowed to occupy all her mind. On January 3, when news of the occupation of Breslau came to Vienna, Maria Theresa called Francis and

her ministers together to define the course the government was to pursue. Francis must have viewed his position bitterly. The sacrifices he had made in forsaking Lorraine had come to little. The powers which had given their assurances of support to the Pragmatic Sanction were tardy now in backing them up. Neither the Russians, the Poles, the Dutch, nor the French recognized the moral obligations of their promises to her father. They resorted to expediency and did nothing to support Maria Theresa against her enemy. Francis went to these conferences between his wife, the ministers, and himself in a torn frame of mind. He had lost Lorraine, and in Austria he was little more than husband and less than a regent. He still professed belief in Frederick. They were both Freemasons. That was an old rock upon which they might stand, side by side. Also, Frederick had power in the election of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and Francis was justified in hoping that this one big prize might be vouchsafed to him from the chaos.

Francis therefore met the Queen and the ministers with a different cause to plead. He was loyal to his Queen, but he leaned towards a compromise with Frederick. Maria Theresa was adamant and Bartenstein and most of her ministers supported her. Their attitude was defiant. Neither Frederick's first bargain, for all Silesia, nor his second, for part of Silesia in return for payment, were to be countenanced. Maria Theresa embraced force rather than argument, and her army was prepared. She had appealed to Poland, France and England for aid without avail. The regiments in Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia were recalled and she embarked on the war with Frederick, which did not end until her death.

Maria Theresa has been criticized for her defiant attitude. According to Karl Tschuppik, "Had Vienna entered into Frederick's proposal, Austria and Prussia would together

have ended the struggle of the two Western powers which was beginning. France and England would have preferred to fight out in America and elsewhere the English-Spanish quarrel which had flamed up. Germany would have been certain to be the theatre of war. Austria would have been able to risk her great position in Italy without fear. Only a glance was needed to see from this perspective that Vienna would not be momentarily possessed." [2]

Little did Maria Theresa dream that her action would involve the world powers, nor did she foresee the effects of challenging the genius of Frederick. In the twentieth century the memorial to her courage is in what remains of the nationalist spirit in Austria. Her name thrills many of her people still, in their fear and dislike of German ideas. However much historians may criticize her for turning to war rather than the safety of the conference tables, there can be no doubt of her splendid courage, which became a lasting inspiration to those Austrians whose hearts are in Vienna and never likely to withstand transplanting to Berlin.

In the midst of preparations for war, compensation came to Maria Theresa. Her prayers to her saints had not been vain. On March 13, 1741, her first son was born. She gave the House of Habsburg the heir for which her father had prayed. The little Prince was " a veritable young Hercules," deserving of the wild adulation which was suddenly poured upon the Hofburg and the parents within. It was for Maria Theresa what she described as the " second happiest day " of her life. Prince Joseph weighed sixteen pounds two ounces at birth.[3] Maria Theresa was grateful to her saints. She persuaded her mother to allow her to call the baby Joseph, after her patron saint, instead of Charles, after her father.[4] The British Ambassador described the delight of Vienna over the birth of the Prince in a letter to Lord Harrington. The Queen was able to drive through the

streets at night, in an open landau, with two horses and only two servants. The narrow streets were full of poor people and a tatterdemalion crowd of Turks and Prussian deserters, but she made her way without any demonstration except the cheers and pleasure of an excited populace.

There was another consolation for Maria Theresa as she became more and more involved in affairs of war and government. The company of her ministers slowly changed and new blood came in, to stimulate the councils. She wrote of the old ministers inherited from her father that "if God Himself had not arranged for the death of them all," [5] she would never have been able to remedy her affairs. She never renounced her old ministers, but she welcomed the changes when they came. Two new members came into the Cabinet during the disastrous year of 1741. One of them was Count Philip Kinsky,[6] the Bohemian High Councillor who became her trusted adviser and her friend. He was a feared man because of his temper, but towards his monarch a better manner appeared. Both Maria Theresa and Kinsky were hasty in temper and impatient. No doubt they recognized each other's fault, for when Kinsky was the victim of his temper, Maria Theresa responded likewise. But these little storms did not matter. What was of deep importance to her was that she was able to write to him: "To you alone I can confide my real meaning." Kinsky's prejudice in favour of Bohemia warped his judgment and advice, but Maria Theresa was oblivious of this fault in the early days of their association, because of his sincerity and his kindness to her. She manifested towards him the strange indulgence which royal persons often accord their favourites. She forgave him for the tobacco stains on the documents which he returned her, asking him only to be more careful of his nicotine when the papers were intended for the Court Chancellor. With Kinsky more than any other minister of this period Maria

ARCHDUKE JOSEPH AS A BABY

after a portrait by Martin von Meytens

Theresa became a friend, and the confidence between them was strengthening to her.

Another happy result of this troubled year was the Queen's improved relationship with Bartenstein. He had rallied to her grandly when she refused to concede an acre of Silesia to Frederick of Prussia. Bartenstein was a loyalist and his capacity was so great that Maria Theresa came to rely on him more and more. Every month during the early part of 1741 there were indications of her growing courage. It was in February that she showed the first sign of interest in her army. And the interest was in the form of a reproof. She wrote to Colonel Roth, in charge of the Fortress Neisse: "I can see quite well that with us everything is done far too slowly. This will be our ruin in the long run. There is no haste to accomplish even the things of paramount importance." [7] From this time military reform became one of her anxieties, and even when she had been confined to her bed, before the birth of her son, she had received her ministers in her room, urging them on to prepare the defences of her country.

The first great battle in which the Austrians tried to expel the Prussians from Silesia occurred in the spring. The excuses which Frederick later offered for his antagonism to Maria Theresa and his appetite for her territory are surprising. He recalled in his book *Histoire de mon temps* that, looking back, he saw on the one hand himself as a young king with ample military and financial resources and with ambition urging him to seek fame, and on the other Maria Theresa as a young, inexperienced Queen, with a disputed title, her army little more than a figment, and her revenue uncertain. She was therefore not a formidable enemy to attack. This explanation, which came to him in later years, does not stress Frederick's nobleness of mind even if it reveals his bravado and courage. It did not exculpate him

from the charge, made by Ostermann and other responsible historians, that the invasion of Silesia was "an ugly business." Frederick had begun the new year by marching over Maria Theresa's Silesian lands. Now, with the approach of spring, came Austria's brave and disastrous attempt to win Silesia back from him.

Maria Theresa had chosen Marshal Neipperg as her general. His failure against the Turks at Belgrade during her father's reign was forgiven. The army which assembled with Neipperg about Mollwitz numbered about fifteen thousand. Frederick's army was greater, but his men were scattered, whereas the Austrians were formed compactly.[8] This small Austrian force moved towards Neisse where they arrived on April 5. Neipperg was not a tried strategist. He moved his men slowly, and some critics have said that he missed his first great opportunity by not attacking the core of Frederick's army, numbering only four thousand and commanded by the King himself. Had he acted then, when the Prussian forces were still scattered, Neipperg might have taken Frederick prisoner and terminated the blaze of his power.

The first engagement was at Mollwitz, and although the Prussians were victorious, it was not because of any strategic genius on the part of Frederick. Neipperg wisely paused when he came to Mollwitz, for a day of rest. It was Frederick who opened the attack, upon a clear April morning, 1741, with a superior army of 18,000 infantry, 4,600 cavalry,[9] and 53 cannon. The Austrians now numbered 9,800 infantry, 6,800 cavalry, and 19 cannon. The engagement was remarkable in military history as being the first occasion when cavalry were defeated by infantry. The Prussian cavalry, under Frederick's personal command, became so demoralized that he yielded to the persuasion of his generals and left the field. But the force of the Prussian in-

fantry was established. The Austrians fell before them, and the dreadful day ended about seven o'clock in the evening when Neipperg withdrew, leaving a quarter of his army dead or dying on the field. What was a disastrous day for Maria Theresa's army was also the beginning of a new era in the military history of Europe. The great Prussian machine of war was born and the infantry which won the battle of Mollwitz, notwithstanding Frederick's leadership of his cavalry, were the ancestors of the soldiers who were drilled on the parade grounds of Potsdam on the eve of 1914.

When news of the battle of Mollwitz spread across Europe, the dice of ambition and power were shaken as they had never been in living memory. Coxe briefly avers that after his victory Frederick "seemed to hold in his hand the balance of Europe." Unhappy and seemingly helpless in Vienna, Maria Theresa was the focus of the world's pity.[10] Her youth and her lack of skill added to the wistfulness of her crumbling power. But the rulers of Europe were too intent upon their own business to ponder over her unhappiness for long. There was much to do and every house was to be put in order. It was at this time that fresh prizes were offered in the game between nations.

The provinces of Europe did not occupy all the earth, and the old frontier jealousies were not the only motives behind the competition between kings. The new countries of the world were being discovered. The word *colonial* came to be more than a term used to describe far-away and unchartered lands. The fight was now not only for the old booty of territory in Europe. It was a new struggle, between the Germanic and the Latin people, and the prizes were the colonies across the Atlantic and the unexploited lands which were being painted on the map of the world. Frederick's one victory at Mollwitz seemed to set the

roulette-wheel spinning. For everybody there was much to lose and much to gain.

France was the first country to declare herself. She had played her waiting game well and she was able to deny, without wounding her variable conscience, all the old promises she had made to Charles of Austria. She openly turned against Austria and, through the Treaty of Nymphenburg, she undertook to support the Elector of Bavaria, not only in his claim to the Imperial crown of the Holy Roman Empire, but also to the remainder of Maria Theresa's territory. France made a second pact. She joined with Spain in a promise to destroy Austria. In this dread month of May, less than a month after the defeat of her army at Mollwitz, Maria Theresa had to swallow the bitter news that both Spain and France were openly against her. France then turned to the victor Frederick, so recently the king of a small country and now the focus of diplomatic designs from every part of Europe. France recognized his possession of Silesia and, to protect him against any possible conflict with Russia, she agreed to stir up Swedish feeling against Russia, over the old bogy of the Baltic Provinces, and thus keep her engaged in the north. Frederick withdrew his claim on Berg and Jülich, the provinces ceded to him by Charles VI, and he strengthened the hand of the Elector of Bavaria by promising to support him as a candidate for the Imperial crown. If right was on Maria Theresa's side, she must have been sick at the immorality with which the world was governed. Every triumph, in force and diplomacy, fell to her enemies. Augustus of Saxony allied himself with France, and in August 1741 she lost all hope of help from Russia, which had been promised to Austria in the treaty of 1726, because the Swedes succumbed to France's plot and declared war on the Russians.

It was not easy for England to determine her policy in

face of the sudden changes in Europe.[11] Much has been written of the poverty of George II's talents, but the policy of the country was in the hands of Walpole, who disliked war. Though the King often raised his voice, he seldom exercised his will. But in this matter the King had much to gain or lose because of the division of his rule between Hanover and England. He spoke and thought in German. The best-beloved of his dominions was in Germany and he did not wish to make an enemy of Frederick of Prussia. There was an added reason why it was wise for his government to think in tune with the Prussians. They were both Protestant people and Maria Theresa was a Catholic monarch. Another factor disturbed England in making up her mind. The dogma: "Fear God and hate the French" was part of England's creed. France was her natural enemy and very soon England and France were to be at war. The old hatred of the Bourbons, coupled with jealousy over colonial possessions, obliged the British government to be cautious before declaring the way of their sympathy.

It would be easy to present George II's final decision in a heroic light, for he decided to support Maria Theresa. But England needed a European ally; her heroics were therefore tinged with mercenary hopes. Perhaps the most dramatic moment in the affairs of April was when George II appeared before his Parliament to express his readiness to help Austria. The only outcome of his defiance of Prussia and France could be war, and George II asked for the aid of his subjects.[12] Both houses pledged themselves to help him. The main theme of English policy was the same in the eighteenth as in the twentieth century. She deceived herself into thinking that there was a high moral purpose in this defence of the young Queen and her harassed countries. Parliament granted the King money for necessary auxiliaries and went so far as to send a subsidy of three

hundred thousand pounds to Maria Theresa's impoverished treasury. The "lofty and unbending spirit of Maria Theresa" was encouraged by this support from England.

Even while Frederick was increasing his strength against her and while the clever and unscrupulous French Marshal Belleisle was supporting the Elector of Bavaria in his march towards her lands, Maria Theresa's courage did not weaken. She was now strong enough, at least in will, to stand out against all advisers.[13] Though her apparent courage was sometimes merely stubbornness, there was something mighty and awe-inspiring about her disregard of all suggestions that she should abandon heroics for expediency. While she wrestled with Frederick's proposals, the Elector of Bavaria, and the French Army under Belleisle, had crossed the Rhine and were making their way down the Danube. Soon they were to take Linz. In September the soldiers of the enemy were to come as near as St. Pölten, eight leagues from Vienna, where they were to call on the capital to surrender.

Diplomacy was being forsaken for the more desperate business of arms and all Europe was in turmoil. Maria Theresa's plight is well described in the following words: "On surveying this deplorable state of affairs, the cause of Maria Theresa appeared wholly desperate; attacked by a formidable league, Vienna menaced with an instant siege, abandoned by all her allies, without treasure, without an efficient army, without able ministers, she seemed to have no other alternative than to receive the law from her most inveterate enemies."[14] With the Bavarian enemy advancing towards her gate, Maria Theresa emerged in the most dramatic scene of the early part of her reign.

CHAPTER IX

Hungary and the House of Austria. Maria Theresa's coronation in Pressburg

HUNGARY HAD NOT LOST its individuality through association with the neighbouring German states.[1] Being purely Magyar in blood, the Hungarians had always been inclined to live a separate existence, influenced upon one side by the Orient and by the constant invasion of Byzantine culture. These influences had always tended to draw the Hungarians away from the House of Austria and there was a long history of mistrust between them. The Habsburgs had preferred, in the previous century, to suffer defeat by the Turks rather than permit Hungary to train and command her own army. Once strengthened with military independence, the Hungarians might have become treacherous. The policy of the court of Vienna had for a long time been designed to avoid giving Hungary any sense of its own military strength, and this had been accomplished by appointing Austrian officers to command the Hungarian troops. The Hungarians had not been free in the seventeenth century, but they had remained independent in aims, and although

they bowed to many impositions by the House of Austria, they clung to what rights remained to them, with lively patriotism.

The relationship between Hungary and the House of Austria had softened during the reign of Maria Theresa's father. Hungarians had fought side by side with Charles VI's soldiers against Turks, Spaniards, and French. This sharing of hazards in battle and the beginning of a common military tradition had healed many old wounds. Marczali tells us in his *Introduction to Hungary in the Eighteenth Century* that as the result of this companionship in battle, during the reign of Charles VI, a feeling of security and contentment began to spread over the land which had for so long been torn with wars against Turkey and by religious and political dissensions.

A series of events had fostered this security. In the year in which Charles induced Hungary to agree to the Pragmatic Sanction, he had established a royal Council of State, and in 1728, to increase the independence of the Hungarian government, he had permitted the reorganization of the county government, which had been obsolete during the reign of the Turks. The economic conditions of the country had improved during his reign and the population had increased. There was wealth in the land, especially among the peasants, who made big military contributions to the army. Notwithstanding this prosperity there were still many complaints against the House of Austria, for the Hungarians were restless under the military imposition, the high taxes, and the price of salt. But it was true that the situation had so improved under Charles that both royalists and independents in Hungary wished to make the best of the happier condition in which they found themselves. It was this feeling of confidence that had helped Charles when he came to the Hungarians with his cherished Pragmatic Sanction.

Hungary accepted it, as a sign of her gratitude for the spirit of co-operation which prevailed at the time. This changed relationship between Austria and Hungary was perhaps one of the most precious gifts which Charles VI was able to hand on to his daughter, for it was to stand her in good stead during the early years of her reign.

Maria Theresa had not yet been crowned sovereign of Hungary. The Hungarians viewed the event with great seriousness, for they would acknowledge nobody as their king who had not been crowned with the ancient and sacred crown of Stephen: they would accept no decrees from a ruler of the House of Habsburg until this ceremony had been performed, amid all the pomp which was their tradition. The Queen's fourth confinement had delayed the coronation in Pressburg. This was well, for the war in Silesia and the arrogant campaign of the King of Prussia stirred Hungary deeply in the Queen's favour. The imagination and chivalry of the Hungarians drew them into spontaneous support of the Queen. Some of them had backed up their patriotic declaration by practical military offers. Count Palffy, the old Hungarian soldier, who had been a friend of Prince Eugene, had been placed in command of the Hungarian army and in the Pest country sixteen hundred nobles were in readiness to support Maria Theresa. Volunteer recruits offered themselves from every part of Hungary. She assumed heroic importance in the imagination of the Hungarians, and when the Reichstag met, it was decided to invite her to be crowned in Pressburg. Discretion tempered patriotism; the Hungarians stipulated that when she was crowned, Maria Theresa should promise not to interfere with the privileges which they already enjoyed. There was one pain in the prospect for her; her consort was not to be allowed to share her Hungarian throne. She was to be crowned as King and not as Queen.

Maria Theresa's sponsor in Hungary was Palffy, whose old heart was stirred by her youthfulness, her pluck, and her beauty. If Maria Theresa was to catch and hold the hearts of the Hungarians, this was the hour in which she should make her appeal.

On June 20, 1741, the Queen went aboard her boat to journey into Hungary by way of the Danube. Braving the frowns of Vienna, she had dressed the boats of her little fleet in the Hungarian colours, red, white, and green. Next morning she crossed the boundary into Hungary and her twelve oarsmen rested while she stepped ashore to hear Esterházy's oration of welcome. It was couched in scholarly Latin and Maria Theresa answered him in the same language. From this hour her visit took on all the pomp of a great occasion. In the evening they came to Pressburg. Cannon boomed from the lofty ramparts of the castle, and a thousand banners danced against the saffron light of the setting sun. The Hungarians adored a splendid show and Maria Theresa fulfilled their wish. Francis was sitting beside her in the carriage, but his good looks and noble bearing could not detract from the interest and beauty of the Queen. She had laid aside the black dresses of her long years of mourning. She was dressed in white, embellished in blue and gold. It is said that she did not err on the side of haughtiness. She smiled and her manner was dazzling rather than austere. She was not bewildered by the cheering, however much it pleased her. She watched the life in the narrow streets and was able, even in the excitement, to observe the Jews in the ghetto and recalled in later years that the sight of them increased her antipathy against the people of Israel.

The procession wound up through the town, towards the palace, in which lay the monarchic heart of Hungary. The crown jewels were there, guarded by fifty of the Queen's own soldiers and fifty drawn from the Hungarian forces.

MARIA THERESA, QUEEN OF HUNGARY, IN HUNGARIAN NATIONAL COSTUME

after a portrait by Martin von Meytens in the palace at Pressburg

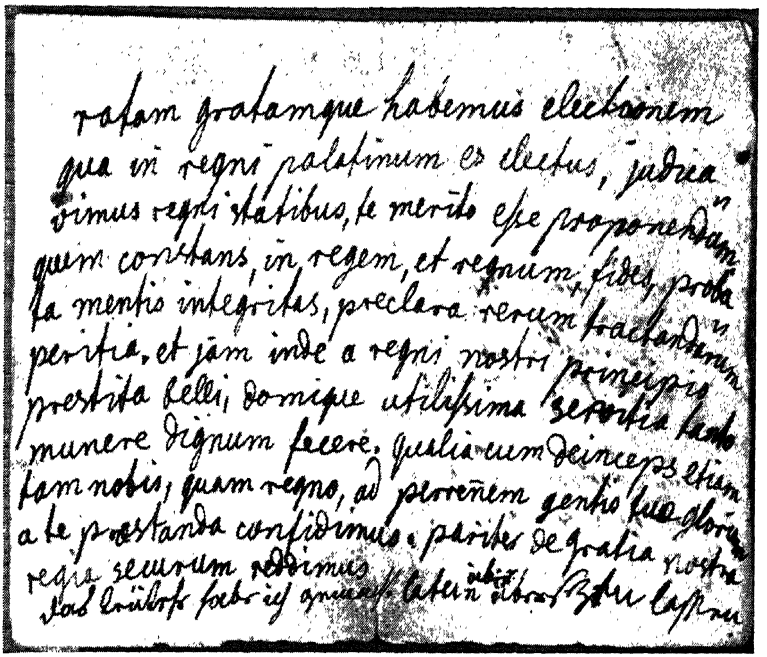
There also were the crown and mantle of Stephen, which she was to wear. In spite of the glamour of the moment, Hungary was not to present the crown to her without certain reservations. The post of palatine was free at that time and, according to the Venetian Ambassador, she wished to appoint the veteran Count Palffy as palatine so that the office would be free for her husband when Palffy died. The Hungarians did not wish Francis to gain power in their country. Also, they feared that if Maria Theresa and her children died before him, he might make an effort to gain their crown. Palffy eventually subdued the Hungarians into accepting Francis as co-regent,[2] but Maria Theresa argued long and shed many tears before agreement came.

One cannot help turning from facts to emotions once more in contemplating her plight. While she was fighting against Hungary's claims for concessions and independence, the British Ambassador, Thomas Robinson, was also in attendance, pleading with her to accede to Frederick's claims respecting Silesia. Yet every incident strengthened her will. From the day when she heard that Frederick had pledged himself to an alliance with France and to support the Elector of Bavaria as candidate for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire, she had seemed to grow in stature as a sovereign. In one of his dispatches Robinson said that she was beginning to "shine out" for her "sense and talents." They availed her now, while she listened to Frederick's conditions for peace and to the arguments of the Hungarian Reichstag. She was at the beginning of her true greatness and was soon to assume her place, not only as ruler of the weakened Austrian states, but in the wider theatre of European affairs. Her wit and her courage wore down the opposition of the Reichstag and she turned their "stern decision" into compromise. The crown of Stephen was hers.

The British Ambassador, travelling in her wake, wrote

of the coronation: "The Queen was all charm; she rode gallantly up the Royal Mount and defied the four corners of the world with the drawn sabre, in a manner to show she had no occasion for that weapon to conquer all who saw her. The antiquated crown received new graces from her hand, and the old tattered robe of St. Stephen became her as well as her own rich habit, if diamonds, pearls, and all sorts of precious stones can be called clothes. . . . When she sat down to dine in public, she appeared still more engaging without her crown; the heat of the weather, and the fatigues of the ceremony diffused an animated glow over her countenance; while her beautiful hair flowed in ringlets over her shoulders and bosom." [3]

One gentle incident tempered the glory. As she left the church, Maria Theresa beheld her father's jester in the crowd. She paused and asked him where he had been of late. He answered, gallantly, that he had been looking for masons to widen the streets for her procession. Maria Theresa asked him then if he could call a street narrow when she had proceeded through it in such great splendour. But she proceeded alone. Her husband did not even drive in the carriage with her. Hungary permitted no confusion about the humbleness of his state, and he watched his wife's triumph from the window of a private house. The triumph was hers alone, but Maria Theresa needed soldiers in the field as well as promises made in her court. In September she appeared once more before the Hungarian leaders and appealed to them. The scene of her pleading has become one of the celebrated pictures in Hungarian history. The members of the assembly gathered in the hall to wait for her. Then she came into the room, dressed in black and wearing the crown which they so greatly revered. Maria Theresa had an instinct for drama and she used it well in this hour. She walked to the throne and she spoke in Latin, the lan-



Maria Theresa

SIGNED AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF MARIA THERESA IN LATIN, WITH THE LAST TWO LINES IN GERMAN

"We grant and approve the election by which you were chosen Palatine of the kingdom and believe you worthy, because you always served the king and realm with tested fidelity; because of your distinguished experience in business and by your superior service for our empire in war and peace, according to the rules of the empire, rightfully proposed, we believe that you were found worthy.

"In cognizance of your deeds we and the empire have bestowed upon you this office, to the eternal honor of your family and present it to you by our kingly grace."

guage of noble Hungarians. Count Kolder, who was present, set down what he remembered of her words. "The very existence of the Kingdom of Hungary, of our own person and children and our crown are at stake," she said. "Forsaken by all, we place our sole reliance in the fidelity and long-tried valour of the Hungarians. We exhort the states and orders to deliberate without delay on the extreme danger and devise the most effective measures for the security of our person, of our children, and of our crown, and to carry them into immediate execution. In regard to ourselves, the state of Hungary shall experience our hearty co-operation in all things which may promote the pristine happiness of this ancient kingdom and the honour of its people." [4]

At first her appeal did not stir the assembly beyond argument. She was questioned and even frowned upon until, in one moment, her dramatic genius rescued and exalted her. She sent for her infant son and, like Queen Eleanor holding the infant Edward up to appease the Welsh, she held the baby Joseph in her arms before the Hungarians. When she spoke of her children she hid her face in her handkerchief and cried. All the circumstances of her emotional appeal were in her favour. It was known that she was already pregnant with another child. Her "youth, beauty and extreme distress" won the deputies over and they drew their sabres half out of their scabbards, then rammed them back as far as the hilt and vowed that they would consecrate their "lives and their arms" to her.[5] Tradition tells us that in the actual hour when she held the baby Prince before the deputies, seated upon her throne, "a cry of joy and exultation instantly burst forth" and the vows were renewed: "We will die for Maria Theresa." [6] "*Vitam et sanguinem*," they cried, and proclaimed her their King.[7]

CHAPTER X

The loss of Lower Silesia. Charles Albert of Bavaria captures Prague and is crowned Charles VII. The Austrians enter Munich

WHEN MARIA THERESA returned to Vienna from Pressburg, bringing recollections of her success with the Hungarians, many new troubles were brewing for her. Her prestige was strengthened by all that she had accomplished and she was soon to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the Hungarians accept her husband as co-regent. To see him emerge, if only to assume a powerless title, pleased her, for Europe was more and more overshadowed as the drama of her reign proceeded. But her estimate of human nature must have fallen lower and lower during these months. Early in September, George II withdrew the support he had promised her in the previous June. The dramatic appeal which he had made to his English subjects was forgotten. He was forced to think instead of his perils in Hanover, so he signed a treaty with France to maintain the neutrality of Hanover, and in

return he agreed to support the Elector of Bavaria for the still vacant throne of the Holy Roman Empire.

Truly Maria Theresa was alone in her terrible eminence. Even her ministers withdrew their encouragement, and some resented the success of her visit to Pressburg. The culmination of their dissent came when they again urged her to compromise with Frederick. Even Bartenstein, who had shared her early defiance, now thought that the time had come to negotiate. Maria Theresa yielded and consented to consider Frederick's offers. But the King of Prussia was drunk with pride now that all Europe was hushed by his voice. "It is now too late," he answered, "to offer help to the Queen of Hungary; she must compose herself under the weight of her misfortunes."

In the eleventh hour the perfidy of human nature saved Maria Theresa from annihilation. If the symbol of the wolves and the lamb may be used, one sees that up to now the wolves had been too intent upon catching the lamb to realize that it could not feed all of them. When the lamb was subdued, there was bound to be quarrelling between the wolves. Frederick soon realized that the role of conqueror was not easily played. There came a day when the Bavarian and French soldiers, who had withdrawn from the fringe of Vienna to press on towards Prague, were approaching perilously near to his own spoil in Silesia. He had no mind to share what he had won, and he had less wish to see the Elector of Bavaria playing, like himself, the role of conqueror.

There were other menaces to his peace of mind. The haughtiness of Belleisle offended the Prussians. France was alarmed by Frederick's growing power, and the friendship did not run smoothly. Two of the wolves, the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, became jealous over the spoils they hoped to wrest from Maria Theresa. Frederick of Prussia

paused in his progress. He had perhaps gone too far with his sword, so he laid it aside and took up his pen again. Maria Theresa was forced into her first experience of diplomatic duplicity when, in the end, the British Envoy in Prussia arranged an agreement between herself and Frederick. He had no wish, for the moment, to pursue his attacks upon her, in view of the arrogance of France and the progress of Charles of Bavaria. Many letters were exchanged and many proposals framed and rejected before Maria Theresa bowed to Frederick's demands.

She was to lose lower Silesia, including the towns of Breslau and Neisse. The convention between them was "to be kept an inviolable secret, and if divulged by the court of Vienna, should be considered as null." Maria Theresa even agreed that "to preserve appearances," "skirmishes should not be immediately discontinued, and that the siege and surrender of Neisse should proceed in the usual forms." It was hoped that a final treaty would be signed before the end of the year, but Frederick promised that in exchange for the Silesian territory he would never demand the cession of any other lands. He would not "act offensively" against the Queen or against the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, or any of the Queen's allies. One of the surprises of history is in observing how brave men are in battle and how corrupt they become when they sign treaties. Some vileness seems to capture them when they exchange a sword for a pen. Frederick was willing to sign his treaty with his enemy and he was most anxious to "conceal his transactions from his allies." So anxious, indeed, that he induced the British Envoy, who had nursed the negotiations, to sign his statement that they had failed. In his *Histoire de mon temps* Frederick admits his duplicity with cynical pleasure and confesses contempt for Maria Theresa for falling into his trap. This treaty was

concluded in October 1741 and is known as the Convention of Klein-Schnellendorf, after the place where it was signed.

Maria Theresa's act of duplicity availed her little. The treaty with Frederick gave him an interval to rest his army and to prepare for the time when he could once more begin his campaign for territory. Maria Theresa had likewise gained time and was able to concentrate her forces against the Elector of Bavaria. It was now necessary for her to forget the ovations of Pressburg and to induce the Hungarians to keep their promises. A permanent military memorial of the Reichstag of 1741 was the establishment of six new regiments – Forgash, Andrássy, Ujvay, Haller, Szirney, Bethlen – which exist to this day. They fought in the following years in all the Austrian Wars of Succession. From the military point of view, it was observed that the troops from the German inherited territories showed a greater activity in 1742–3 than the Hungarian regiments. But in spite of all her disappointments, the Queen always regarded the accomplishments of her Hungarians very highly. Thirty years later she wrote to her daughter-in-law: "I feel myself so much under obligations to the Hungarians that I cannot recommend them to you too highly."

The passionate devotion cooled a little with the passing days and she had to remind the Hungarians of their pledges. They had first promised an army of one hundred thousand men. With her own troops, these soldiers would have formed a force strong enough to stand up against her enemies. Of the promised hundred thousand, Hungary raised only forty thousand soldiers. They suffered from lack of discipline, and their numbers were soon depleted by desertions so that in 1742 only 20,600 Hungarians supported the Austrian army. "You talk a great deal, but nothing happens," Maria Theresa protested to the Judex Curiæ. Despite these disappointments, Maria Theresa raised an army of

sixty thousand men. It was with this strengthened force that she was able to turn upon Charles Albert of Bavaria and attempt to arrest his conquest of Prague.

The Elector of Bavaria had long been hypnotized by the plans of Cardinal Fleury and Belleisle. It was their ambition and the object of French policy to place him on the Imperial throne. The Elector was so intent upon the fulfilment of this ambition that he neglected his own country. In pursuing the Imperial crown he forgot to hold on to his lesser crown, and this was the fortunate circumstance which helped Maria Theresa's soldiers in the campaign. Momentarily free of the Prussian menace, her army was assembled. The General who ultimately led it to victory was Khevenhüller, who had fought with Prince Eugene. In the beginning Maria Theresa obeyed her affection rather than her judgment, and she placed her husband at the head of the army. Its first objective was Prague. Again Francis of Lorraine failed as a soldier. He arrived a day too late to save the city from surrendering to Charles Albert, who, thanks to his great general de Saxe, entered and was crowned King of Bohemia on December 19. He was, with one exception, the first King not of the House of Habsburg to occupy the castle at Prague.[1]

Bohemia knew little of Maria Theresa. She was no more than a name to many of her subjects there, so they found it easy to welcome the Bavarian invaders. Even the Archbishop kissed the new King's hand. Maria Theresa had now lost Silesia to Frederick, and Upper Austria and Bohemia to the Bavarians. About this time she received news of Spanish hostilities against her in Italy. Furthermore, she was once more pregnant, with her fifth child. Her letters after the loss of Bohemia show a hardening of her once gentle heart. She wrote now as a monarch anxious over the welfare of her soldiers. "Everybody sleeps," she complained, "and when

I do not urge, nothing is done." [2] She wrote to Kinsky, Governor of Bohemia and her trusted friend: "Prague is lost . . . this is the moment to save your country and your Queen; otherwise I shall be poor indeed. I have made up my mind to put everything on the game – to surrender – Bohemia. Arrange everything accordingly. I do not say that I will fundamentally reclaim this city or recover it in twenty years, but I demand the fundamental necessities and the assistance of all my armies. All Hungary will perish before I renounce anything. Again I say, this is the critical moment, don't spare anything. We must hold our ground. Help us with your people. Do whatever you can so that the soldiers are satisfied and nothing is lacking for them. You know better than I do how much depends on this. Stand by my poor husband, who is so solicitous about his troops, as well as the country. He says the people are doing what they can and that one's heart aches, but if one cannot obtain what one needs from the land, one must take what one can get. You will say that I am cruel, but I know that I shall one day make good all the cruelty that I am now compelled to practise in order to hold this country. Now I close my heart to pity." [3]

Now that Charles of Bavaria had conquered Bohemia, the time had come for Fleury and Belleisle to complete their drawn-out plot. At last the Electoral College met at Frankfort to choose the Emperor, and since Maria Theresa was robbed of so many votes which might have gone to her husband, Charles Albert was given the coveted Crown. This was the last disappointment before a season of glory for Maria Theresa. While Charles had been canvassing favour as prospective Emperor, Maria Theresa had withdrawn her husband from the command of the army, and her forces had turned from the disaster of Prague towards Bavaria. Khevenhüller's great talents as a soldier now flourished.

He advanced into Upper Austria with thirty thousand men and blockaded Linz. In the meantime General Berenclau led the remainder of the troops towards Schärding, which was one of the keys to Bavaria. For a little time Maria Theresa's troubled spirit enjoyed the ecstasy of victory. Every day brought her news of the wonderful progress of Berenclau and his men. They routed a corps of Bavarians who were attempting to go to the relief of Linz. Then came the occupation of Passau. Berenclau was now master of the main passes into Bavaria. Khevenhüller also advanced into Bavaria and with the help of irregulars and the natives of the Tirol, who overran southern Bavaria, he pressed on and entered Munich. Charles had won the crown France desired for him, but he had lost his country in doing so. The coincidences of history are forever astonishing. On the day that Charles VII, Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, was crowned, Khevenhüller marched into Munich, February 12, 1742.

For the first time since her accession Maria Theresa was able to enjoy the glow of conquest. She sent her husband to the monastery of Wilheny, near Linz, with a letter for Khevenhüller and a portrait of herself with little Prince Joseph.

"*Dear and faithful Khevenhüller,*" she wrote, "*here you behold the Queen, who knows what it is to be forsaken by the whole world. And here also is the heir to her throne. What do you think will become of this child? To you, as a true and tried servant of the State, your most gracious lady offers this picture of herself, and therewith her whole power and resources – everything in fact that her kingdom contains or can effect. You, the hero and faithful vassal, shall dispose of all things as you think fit and according as you would render account before God and the world in general. May your achievements be as renowned as those of your*

master, the great Eugene, who rests in God. Be fully assured that, now and always, you and your family will never lack the grace and favour and thanks of myself, and my descendants. A world-wide fame will also be yours.

Fare well and fight well.

Maria Theresa"[4]

This letter brought Maria Theresa into the vision of her soldiers. Up to this time, she had been their distant sovereign, immured, with the mystery of her rights, within the Hofburg. She was barely real to them. Khevenhüller used the letter well. In the evening he gave a banquet to his officers, and the Grand Duke Francis sat with him. Khevenhüller read Maria Theresa's letter to them. They cried out as the Hungarian Councillors had cried; they rushed to Francis to kiss his hand and they begged him to carry pledges of their loyalty back to Vienna. Then the picture was shown to the troops. It is said that they kissed it and made their oaths of allegiance over it. Maria Theresa's name became their war-cry.

CHAPTER XI

The character of Francis. Maria Theresa's court. Family life. Maria Theresa's friends: Countess Fuchs and Silva-Tarouca

IT IS DIFFICULT to pick out the lighter threads of Maria Theresa's domestic life in this great pattern of battle and diplomacy.[1] Yet the records of her influence as a wife and a mother exist together with the dispatches and documents and there are peaceful as well as alarming scenes, within the Hofburg and in the gardens of Schönbrunn – scenes in which one sees the Prince and the Princesses growing up and enjoying their mother's company when she was able to escape from her duties.

Khevenhüller wrote of Maria Theresa some years after: "She can withstand all fatigues, wherein she exceeds many men." She was strong, healthy, and normal and her vitality helped her to sail splendidly through her storms. Nor must her charm be overshadowed by the story of her courage. She kept her beauty, and her taste for music and pleasure. There were respites in the long monotony of conferences

and anxiety and she lightened the evenings at Schönbrunn with Italian music and an occasional play. She continued to love her husband, and his failures as a soldier and his weakness in times of crisis did not tamper with her heart.

Francis was charming, lazy, and kind. He was depressed by his lack of power. "I am but a private individual," [2] he once complained. He would have adorned an age of peace and prosperity, for he hated conflict and he lacked the vigorous qualities of character which his time demanded in a prince. Francis liked riches and he was clever at finance. When he died he left one hundred and fifty-nine million florins, which his son devoted to the relief of the State. He returned Maria Theresa's adoration with affection and respect. But the journey into the courts of Europe had allowed him to see the delights of luxury, and his own nature tempted him away from fidelity. Almost from the beginning, Maria Theresa had to resign herself to sharing her husband with several mistresses. There were spying and deceit to alarm her and there were quarrels to distress her. The courage which helped her to bear with her husband's infidelity was revealed in a scene after his death. One of the last ladies to enjoy Francis's patronage was Princess Maria Auersperg. At a reception held some time after Francis's death, in 1765, Maria Theresa saw that the Princess was standing alone, snubbed by the ladies of the court. Her great heart urged her to cross the room and say to her: "Princess, we have both lost a great friend." [3] To the end of Francis's life he shared Maria Theresa's bedroom, *in guter bürgerlicher Sitte.*

Maria Theresa seemed able to reconcile piety with pleasure. Although the Viennese court still had the reputation of being the most austere in Europe, formality was often dismissed. In Schönbrunn the etiquette of her father's reign was relaxed, much to the dismay of Khevenhüller, who

loved formality. Describing a feast at Schönbrunn, he wrote, with disgust: "In order to avoid disputes about precedence, everybody sat down pell-mell." In Schönbrunn, too, it was customary for the guests to help themselves at the table on informal occasions and thus avoid having the servants about, so that they could speak more freely among themselves.

"The Empress rode and danced with much zest," wrote Khevenhüller. "Since Maria Theresa has exhibited such a passion for riding, it is the rage for our wives to imitate her. One sees more women than men riding now." In the magnificent riding school connected with the palace, great ladies rode in "quadrilles called carrousels." They were so complicated that "everybody wondered that everything was done in an orderly way and without collisions."

While she was yet young, the Queen danced, not only in the palace but in various places which then existed in Vienna, such as the Ballhaus and the Mehlgrube. The Queen danced at these balls in a white domino. Once in 1742 she appeared in a quadrille, as Khevenhüller describes, "in consideration of the Bohemian people," wearing Bohemian peasant dress, with a society of gentlemen and ladies. In 1753 she visited the Redoute, an annual ball, in a black domino in order not to be known; and to mislead the guests, she took a deaf and dumb boy along as an escort, about the height of the young Archduke Joseph. In 1744 a masquerade was arranged at court at which thirty-three pairs of pierrots and pierrettes appeared. The pierrettes sat in a room almost entirely in the dark, when the pierrots entered and had to take the first lady they found. Count Schlick was lucky enough to obtain Maria Theresa as a partner. The whole company then proceeded together into the Ballhaus and drove out from there to the Mehlgrube.

There was a difference of opinion over the propriety of

these escapades. The Prussian Ambassador in Vienna wrote in 1748 that the Queen had chosen to abolish all gallantry at her court. Khevenhüller did not agree. After a similar diversion in 1757 he wrote that "she was so rigorous . . . that the least impropriety was not only reprimanded but punished." Although Khevenhüller admitted the propriety of his Queen's behaviour, his old disciplined habits were often shaken by the unconventional parties to which he was summoned.

He complained when he lost six thousand ducats to Prince Charles of Lorraine in a game of pharaoh (faro). Gambling at the Hofburg was quick and for high stakes. The Princess Auersperg lost her whole dowry of twelve thousand pounds the first winter after her marriage, and on one occasion Francis himself lost thirty thousand ducats. These reckless games were played in the later years, when Maria Theresa was less impoverished by wars. She never lost her capacity for pleasure, nor was she always patient with the survivals of etiquette from her father's time. Again it is in Khevenhüller's diary that one finds a sad complaint. He was shocked one day when Maria Theresa called upon him to ride next to her when he was not properly dressed. "The etiquette," he wrote, "is curiously confused and uneven at court nowadays."

It seems hardly possible to reconcile Maria Theresa's life as a ruler and as the head of a great court with the fact that between 1737 and 1756 she presented her husband with sixteen children. In considering the life of her family as it was in 1742, two of her children are important to the story. Her first baby, Maria Elizabeth, had died in 1740. Her second daughter, Maria Anna, was heiress to her mother's piety and in later years she entered a convent. The third child was Maria Karolina, who died before she was a year old. The fourth child, Joseph, was Maria Theresa's heir, who had

already peeped "like a squirrel" at his future subjects from the arms of his nurse in Pressburg, and the fifth was Maria Christina, born in 1742. She grew up to become the wife of Duke Albert of Saxe-Teschen. The sixth child was Maria Elizabeth, and the seventh, born in the year of Maria Theresa's victory over the Bavarians, was Karl Joseph, who was to die in his seventeenth year.

Although her children grew up with great differences of character and without great learning, Maria Theresa was a diligent mother. While the Princes and Princesses were young, they were allowed to enjoy the simplicity of family life. It was not until they were older that ambition undermined the affection in the Queen's heart. Then their marriages became more important to her than their happiness. Maria Theresa was solidly German in her family instincts, and only her exalted state prevented her from enjoying the domestic simplicity to which she was guided by her nature. One proof of Maria Theresa's greatness lies in the story of faithfulness which she inspired in her friends and advisers. "This woman has a special gift of God," wrote Khevenhüller. Her generosity and gratitude held her friends close to her. Monarchs are often obliged to sacrifice their friends on the altar of statesmanship, and loyalty to their causes has many times forced them to abandon those who have served them well. Maria Theresa had equal tenacity in remembering her enemies and her friends, and this quality allowed her to carry a company of loyal courtiers with her through the greater part of her life.

She was constantly reminded of her childhood by the presence in her court of Countess Fuchs, who had been in charge of her education. The old lady was given equal control over Maria Theresa's children, and when she died she was buried with the members of the Habsburg family in

the vault of the Capucine Church in Vienna.[4] Providing her ladies did not compete with her for her husband's devotion, Maria Theresa was a friend to the female members of her court. Her servants lived near to her and they held their appointments by succession. She found time to take interest in their affairs and on one occasion she attended the golden-wedding celebrations of the man who cared for the palace stoves. She must have possessed the qualities which inspired affection, in women, ministers, and servants alike.

The man who came nearest to her heart in these early years, aside from her husband, was Count Tarouca, a Portuguese by birth, who received many favours and appointments from Maria Theresa. Their relationship was unusual. Through admiration of his judgment and character, Maria Theresa appealed to him many times for frank judgments.

Don Emmanuel Conde da Silva-Tarouca had served in the court of Charles VI. He had not admired the reign of his master, judging it to be "tiresome, undecided, and unprofitable." It was a good thing, he had said, when Maria Theresa acceded, that Vienna was to be imbued with "young fresh blood." Count Tarouca had known Maria Theresa as a young child and he must have had a talent with children, for she loved him always. She placed him in charge of her court and there are many records in their letters to show how she encouraged him in frankness. "Please tell me the truth,"[5] she asked of him, with the curious hankering after intimacy which is denied to royal persons. Tarouca continued in this valuable relationship with his sovereign to the end and it seems that the Queen never withdrew her trust. She was able to enjoy bouts of candour with him, and the letter which she wrote when his own "darling little Theresa" (her first grandchild) was attending a party at the palace reveals her in a charming light. "Your darling little

Theresa has come to celebrate her birthday with us," she wrote. Then she added: "The fat Theresa greets you with her whole heart." [6]

Maria Theresa was often without allies in Europe and was often poor in statesmen in her own government. But she was never without friends.

CHAPTER XII

The Background of Social and Court Life

THE ENTOURAGE of the Empress included about twenty-four hundred persons and cost, yearly, four and a half million gulden. The servants of the household were permanent, their duties being handed down from father to son. The head steward was always stationed next to the Queen and announced persons admitted to the audiences. He stood behind the chair of the Queen at meals. The first gentleman of the court had among his duties that of leading the Queen by the hand to church or on other public occasions.

The life in Schönbrunn during the reign of Maria Theresa ran on methodically, but with far less formality than during the life of her father. Officials of the palace were often admitted to the audiences when the old customs existed. However, only members of the royal family could sit on chairs with backs; others sat on tabourets. To be received in the private apartments of the Queen was a special privilege of ambassadors and those of noble rank. Such a reception was called the "Retirade." All others were received at the so-called "Appartement," which occurred

Tuesdays and Fridays and was held in the garden when the weather was fair, otherwise in the palace.[1] During the winter the Hofburg remained the residence of the royal couple, although neither glamorous nor comfortable.

Laxenburg also belonged to the pleasure palaces which were visited in regular order every year by the court. Francis I, now Emperor, was a lover of the chase and here hunted the deer. The group which accompanied the Imperial couple to this palace was carefully chosen each year. It included regularly the Trautsons, the Khevenhüllers, Kinsky, Clary, Liechtenstein, Trautmansdorff, but the Empress excluded all the ladies whose purpose it was to enslave the Emperor. From Laxenburg the court paid visits to the neighbouring nobility; to Count Esterházy in Inzersdorf, Count Rudolph Colloredo in Fehnsendorf, Count Liechtenstein in Feldsberg, Count Königsegg in Maria-Lanzersdorf, Count Trautson in Goldegg, Count Batthyany in Trautmansdorff, and to the family of the High Chancellor Count Seilern and of the Prince Karl Egon of Fürstenberg.

At the court ceremonies in honour of the betrothal of the Grand Duke Joseph to Isabelle of Parma, a musical drama directed by Metastasio and composed by Hasse, was performed. Mention must be made of Gluck, who, after a visit to Vienna in 1748, went to Italy for two years and then returned in 1750. Four years later he became conductor of the court theatre and composed and directed various performances at court and in the theatre. For example, in 1755 the comic opera *La Danza,* for which Metastasio wrote the words in honour of the Emperor's birthday. The year 1762 introduced an innovation in musical drama. Even though the Seven Years' War was raging, Gluck's *Orpheus and Eurydice* was performed and carried out with great dignity. The text of the opera was dedicated to the Empress. We are told that she regarded the theatre not only in the light of

a source of amusement for the court but also from the national point of view, and insisted upon the performances being as finished as possible. She also insisted upon a high moral tone and laid down special rules which had to be observed to accomplish this purpose.

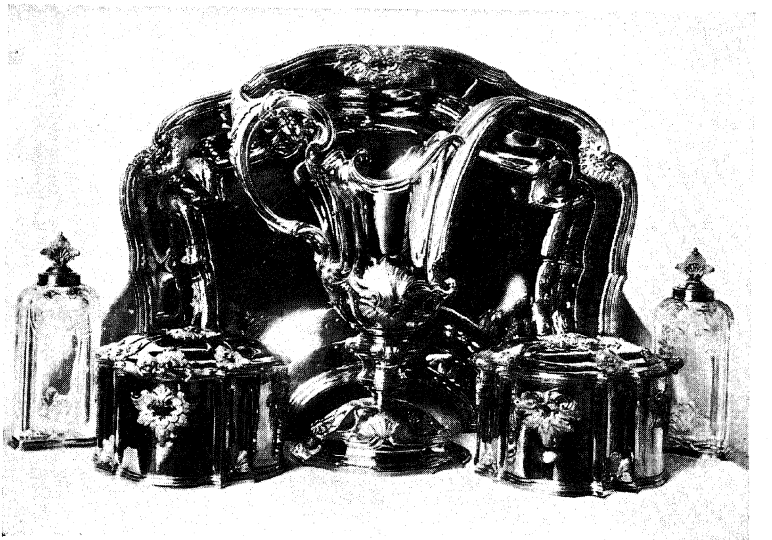
About the middle of the eighteenth century German literature, whose beginnings had been swept away by the storms of the Thirty Years' War, again slowly took seed and by the end of the century blossomed into a national literature comparable to that of any of the great European powers. In 1748 the first three odes of Klopstock's *Messiade*, and in the following year Kleist's *Spring*, appeared. Lessing launched his polemics and dramas, Gleim his war-songs; Winckelmann wrote ecstatically on Greek culture in his *History of the Art of Antiquity* (*1764*). All these innovations in literature were not immediately accepted in Austria. The *Messiade* hardly produced a ripple. Hamann, that strange philosophic genius of the north, was hardly mentioned. Wieland's graceful poetry and the work of Winckelmann were appreciated by only a few chosen spirits such as the artist Gran. Kleist, Gleim, and Lessing were read in Vienna at that time.

During the Seven Years' War a young poet, Philip Hafner, wrote various comedies which were welcomed. His works date from 1755 to 1764. No doubt the Empress saw and enjoyed these. The first German play in the style of Gottsched won much applause. This was given in 1751. *Agis, King of Sparta,* followed by *Darius* and *Ulysses.* On the name-day of the Empress a comedy by Apostolo Zeno was performed. Voltaire's *Alzare* and Maffai's *Merope* were also given at the court.[2] These plays were given only two days in the week. The rest of the week was devoted to the opera and burlesque.

On great occasions the culinary art, for which Vienna

has always been famous, manifested itself in dishes of the most delicious and complex variety. There are still menus in existence in Austria showing the sumptuousness of these feasts. On the occasion of the magnificent festivals attending the betrothal celebration of Marie Antoinette to the Dauphin, which took place in Schönbrunn April 17, 1770, elaborate preparations were made for the wedding banquet, which included such items as these: almost two thousand roasts of various kinds, including fowl, game, and venison; about five hundred meat pies made of pheasant, partridge, grouse, woodcock, capon, ham, and veal; almost ten thousand portions of delicate cakes and pastries; at least seven types of beverages, including tea, coffee, chocolate, and lemonade, besides hundreds of bottles of rare wines and liqueurs, and of course a huge assortment of frozen desserts. This reminds one of the fairy-tales of Grimm and Andersen.

The paintings on the walls of the palaces of Austria representing these splendid ceremonies and court spectacles of the period, so magnificent in grandeur, give one a vivid idea of the luxury and wealth of Maria Theresa's court. Scenes representing royal banquets are plentiful, and in the museums of Vienna today we can see the table ornaments and beautiful silver and gold services, which were formerly used on state occasions. An exhibition of articles of the Theresian period at Schönbrunn in 1930 showed a charming collection of silver and gold ornaments and household utensils of lovely design, also the furniture of this period, each piece illustrating perfect elegance and refinement. In contrast to this we have authentic information that the burgher families and the peasants of Austria were most primitive in their manner of living and far removed from the luxury and extravagance of the court in their domestic equipment and utensils. This is proved in many writings of the period. In burgher families the fingers were used in



SILVER BASIN, EWER, POWDER-BOXES, AND CRYSTAL PERFUME-BOTTLES USED ON THE TOILET-TABLE OF MARIA THERESA

now in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna

eating as late as the reign of Maria Theresa, although in other parts of Europe great progress had been made in domestic comforts and customs. Austria, where the feudal system still predominated, was a century behind the times in these matters.

Drinking was a national weakness. Gentlemen made it a point of honour to be outdone by no one. It is told of Count August Ferdinand von Pflug, Minister of State of Saxony, that he could empty ten bottles of wine at one sitting with no ill effect. Sobriety was an offence rather than sottishness. The better classes drank coffee and tried to prohibit its use in the lower circles; in fact, in several cities an ordinance forbade its use by the latter and required a tax from legal purchasers.

One of the attractions of the life of this period which added greatly to the picturesque and romantic quality – so pronounced in the eighteenth century – is the matter of costume, which played a great role, especially at the court. The many portraits which deck the walls of the palaces of Austria hold us spellbound by the exquisite loveliness of some of the costumes, so elaborate that it is difficult to realize how even the most artistic and painstaking garment-maker could imagine anything so complex in design and workmanship. Every portrait of the Empress represents her in a different gown, made of the richest fabrics and most gorgeously embroidered in gold and silver. Even the costumes of the young children were beautifully embroidered and no pains were spared in bedecking them with rich laces and ornaments. The tight-fitting bodices and the full hoop-skirts of the period lend romance and character to the scene. The men's costumes also became more and more elaborate, as is seen in the picture of the Emperor Charles VI. The long waistcoat was a peculiarity of the costume, finished with a jabot of the finest lace and ornamented with rich-coloured

embroidery and magnificent buttons and exquisite jewels. The portrait of Charles VI which hangs in Schönbrunn portrays a man of the most unusual stateliness, his long wig and his high feathered hat lending dignity to this magnificent personage. We cannot look upon this portrait without being thoroughly impressed by the protruding Habsburg chin, so familiar in history, giving an extraordinary air of importance to him, who looked every inch a king.

The wigs which bedecked the heads of the courtiers and court ladies of Maria Theresa's time differed from those worn at her father's court. Powdered wigs had taken the place of the previous long-haired wigs of Charles VI. All of these fashions, of course, were dictated by the court of Versailles, which, during the reign of Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour, affected the crinoline and curly powdered wig, which were not displayed during the reign of Marie Antoinette, when the high, ridiculous, eccentric wig, as shown in the portrait of the Archduchess Maria Christina, in the Kunsthistorischer Museum in Vienna, was the height of fashion.

The wardrobe of a gentleman of fashion at the time of Maria Theresa is quoted, in a recent book on the eighteenth century by Max von Boehm,[3] as being appraised for over fifty thousand thaler. It consisted of 500 suits, mostly embroidered and made of silk and velvet. In addition, there were among many other articles 30 hats, 139 feathers for hats, 102 watches, and an unusually large number of varied accessories. The fops of the eighteenth century during this period all seemed to have vast wardrobes, besides countless wigs and boots of all kinds. We are told that Count von Brühl, the Minister from Saxony, was unequalled in the care of his wardrobe. He possessed, so the reports of his contemporaries tell us, 300 complete suits of clothes. Each suit was duplicated because this gentleman, we are told, changed

his costume after each meal and did not want to appear in the same suit worn before dinner. These clothes filled two large rooms of his palace. For each costume he had a special watch, snuff-box, Spanish cane and sword. His clothes were reproduced in miniature in a book, which his chamberlain placed before him each morning when he was asked to make his choice. When the Prussians came to Dresden during the Seven Years' War they found the following clothes in addition to those he was wearing at the time: 200 pairs of shoes, 800 rich dressing-gowns, and 1,500 wigs. Frederick the Great is reported as saying: "What a shame to have so many wigs, for a man who has no head!"

This extravagance was not encouraged by the Empress, who in her private life dressed simply, although she graced great court functions in the most elegant and rich costumes. As she grew older she retired more and more from such functions, and even in her youth devoted little or no time to her toilet, much to the dismay of her ladies-in-waiting, who complained bitterly at the lack of attention which she gave to care in dressing her beautiful hair, which in her youthful days was long and golden and the pride of her husband. The elaborateness in costume which characterized this period reached its height. After the Silesian wars we observe the tendency to far greater simplicity, as is shown in a portrait of Kaunitz in Schönbrunn, where he appears in a simple black velvet, tight-fitting long coat. It is ornamented by the ribbon of the Maria Theresa order and the diamond decorations which belong thereto. In the later years of the Empress's life she wore only the widow's garb, which she retained until her death, and we are told she cut her beautiful hair when her husband died.

The parties given in the gardens of Schönbrunn and at the Favorita are almost as famous as those of Versailles.

The Empress in her earlier years before she acquired

weight and voluptuousness, which is emphasized in her portraits after she attained the age of thirty-five, was devoted to the art of dancing and she loved to organize great balls and garden parties, when the famous fountains of Schönbrunn played gaily in the moonlight and the loving couples wandering among the dense foliage lost themselves in the labyrinths, while the Viennese orchestra drowned the laughter of the happy court throng. Dancing and music were always the favourite pastime of Vienna society in the days of the gavotte and the minuet. Viennese waltzes were coming into vogue during the latter part of Maria Theresa's reign. Often the balls lasted through the night.

Card-playing was much enjoyed in high society in Vienna. The Viennese were gamblers with fate and did not believe in taking life too seriously. Their psychology was "Live and let live." In the palace the women gambled with the men for high stakes. As mentioned before, the Countess Auersperg lost her dowry at cards one evening in Vienna, while the Emperor and Maria Theresa took part in the game. Whist and faro were the favourite games.

With none of the conveniences of modern plumbing, bathing was a decided luxury. The pitcher and basin were the only means of performing ablutions, and often these articles were made of silver and gold, like those seen in the museums in Vienna today which belonged to the royal household. Bathing was an event of great significance which was not performed, as a rule, without a physician's order.

Marriages, baptisms, and burials were occasions of great pomp and expense; the higher the rank of the family, the more elaborate the ceremony. Rules of etiquette were strictly observed. Indeed, the matter of precedence and ceremony was carried to the extreme in Austria, where to this day no one addresses a person of high rank except in the third person, and the custom of kissing the hand is still

in vogue. Every person of any standing has a peculiar title of his own. The matter of birth is greatly respected, even in this day of democracy. Since associating with individuals in different strata of society required detailed knowledge of social priority and ceremony, it was simpler to confine oneself to one's own; thus professors kept aloof from their students, scholars from merchants, merchants from artisans, artisans from peasants.

Absolutism reigned in the family as well as in the State. The authority of the father was unassailable. Parental authority, of course, included arranging suitable alliances in the marriages of the children, whose preferences in the matter were not consulted. Referring to the volume of Max von Boehm previously cited: "Social intercourse in the eighteenth century was largely restricted owing to barriers of rank and prejudice, in effect not unlike the actual physical barriers which cage all similar animals in a zoological garden and prevent them from mingling with other species, although they can clearly see and hear each other."

These great differences in rank and station led in France to the French Revolution; in Austria the results were to be reaped later.

CHAPTER XIII

The character of Frederick the Great. The battles of 1742. Olmütz and Chotusitz. War with France. Belleisle in Prague. Belleisle's famous retreat. Maria Theresa crowned Queen of Bohemia. Support of England. The battle of Dettingen. The Treaty of Worms. Austria's lands in Italy. Elizabeth Farnese. Attacks upon Tuscany and Savoy. Reforms in Spain. Conquest of Parma

HOWEVER ROMANTIC and exciting the changes of fortune during the eighteenth century, it is nevertheless true that monarchy was a corrupt racket in almost every country. Unique circumstances which advanced constitutional monarchy in England during Queen Victoria's reign saved the

British from disaster, but in almost every other country in which monarchy flourished during Maria Theresa's reign princes have lost their heads or their thrones, or they have been humiliated under the force of a dictator. However much Prussians may admire the figure of Frederick the Great as a dominant force, building up their great house, it is true that he set the standards for chicanery among the courts of his time. He gave to the mass of people in Europe the example in monarchy which they have since had the courage to destroy: during the French Revolution and during the revolutions which drove the Hohenzollerns from Germany, the Habsburgs from Austria, the Romanoffs from Russia, and the Bourbons from Spain.

The British Envoy who had negotiated the treaty between Frederick and Maria Theresa, in 1741, wrote of Frederick the Great: "Upon all occasions he declares his disregard of trusts and guarantees. He himself says that he would use any opportunity to achieve his ends, whether honourable or not." This alarming code for princes, which afterwards poisoned the art of kingship, stood Frederick in good stead when he received news of the success of the Austrian soldiers and the entry of Khevenhüller into Munich. He cast the treaty aside and renewed his attack upon Maria Theresa.

Once more Frederick found a high moral purpose behind his low cunning.[1] He said that Maria Theresa had broken her bond of secrecy concerning the treaty made between them a little time before. Again the Prussian soldiers set out against the Austrian army. There was this difference between Frederick's first and second attacks on Maria Theresa. He had opened war against her to gain new territory. Now he was afraid, after the victory of the Austrian army, that they might try to wrest Silesia from his hands. In part, it may be said that his first attack was offensive and

that his second was defensive. Frederick entered Moravia and seized the town of Olmütz. Having gained the support of Augustus of Saxony, the Prussian soldiers swept south, with great advantage, and Maria Theresa's armies in both Bohemia and Bavaria were exposed to Frederick's attacks. Virtue was rewarded in this second essay at her destruction. The Saxons withdrew their support from Frederick and even the French refused to help in this enterprise. Had he been strengthened by his allies, Frederick might have taken Vienna and destroyed the very core of Maria Theresa's power. But he advanced alone and although his soldiers came so near to Vienna that terror once more spread through the capital, ten thousand men were withdrawn from Bavaria to hold the country between the Prussians and the city gates. Lack of troops prevented the Prussians from going nearer to Vienna, where Maria Theresa waited, unafraid, and earning from one historian the tribute that " in this perilous time . . . she towered over the indecision and timidity of her advisers." From the beginning of the year until early in May the armies moved with indecision, and it was not until May 15 that Charles of Lorraine, who was now Commander in Chief of the main army, crossed the frontier into Bohemia.[2]

He had been encouraged in this move by a letter from the Queen, written in March. She was always impatient with sluggishness and she had written to him, while his forces were lying idle on the northern border of Bohemia, urging him on. " My confidence in you is so great," she wrote, " that I do not want to bind your hand, and I trust you implicitly to arrive at a decision which will hasten matters and be of the greatest service to me. The greatest necessity, however, is haste. . . . The chief point to consider is to intercept the foe at some point and to drive him out of Austria and Moravia."

These orders of the Queen are all the more remarkable in that she had no military adviser of distinction in Vienna. The Minister of War no doubt resented her giving so free a hand to the General. Among her advisers Bartenstein was perhaps the only one who strengthened her in her decisions, whereas the other ministers and her husband strongly urged her to compromise with Prussia. She continued her pressure upon Charles of Lorraine, but he did not obey her immediately. She wrote again, begging him to do "either one thing or the other. Nothing is more detrimental to my interests than this long-drawn-out inactivity," [3] she complained.

Her persistent orders had so great an effect upon Charles of Lorraine that he moved on, slowly but certainly, towards the conquest of Moravia. For two days after he had crossed the frontier into Bohemia he was able to advance, but when the armies met near Chotusitz, May 17, 1742, the Prussian infantry again proved its vitality and discipline. The Austrian infantry had also profited by experience, and the losses were shared more or less evenly. Each army captured a thousand or more prisoners. But the balance of victory was in Frederick's favour. He conceded to his enemies that they had not lost the battle "through cowardice." Maria Theresa and Fredrick were equally desirous now for a second lull in their long storm, and the English were called in once more to negotiate peace. This quitclaim deed to Silesia was signed at Breslau in June 1742.

The final treaty was signed in Berlin on July 28. It gave Frederick added spoil from Maria Theresa's territories. Now he obtained Upper and Lower Silesia (except the principalities of Troppau and Teschen) and Glatz. Once more Maria Theresa was free to meet her French and Bavarian enemies without the added menace of the Prussians. France was the focus of her deepest hate and fears. If Frederick

was a villain in her eyes, he at least showed his hand as an acknowledged enemy. France was less honest: Belleisle and Cardinal Fleury dealt in subleties which were beyond her comprehension. Now that Frederick was temporarily appeased, Maria Theresa was able to concentrate all her military power against France.

Belleisle and his soldiers in Bohemia were cut off from the main army and all he could do was to hold Prague. The main plotters, Cardinal Fleury and Belleisle, were now far apart and Belleisle found himself in an uncomfortable corner. Fleury's next action (in this, the last year of his life) was self-revealing. He sought peace and, in a contrite letter to Maria Theresa, he laid the blame for France's action on Belleisle. Again Maria Theresa assumed the role of scornful Queen and refused to grant "any capitulation to the French Army." "I will receive no proposition, no project from the Cardinal," she wrote. "Let him address himself to my allies. I am astonished that Belleisle should make any advances, he who, by money and promises, excited almost all the princes of Germany to crush me."[4]

About this time a triumph of great magnitude almost fell into the Queen's hands. She sent one of her generals to Prague with the glorious hope that he might capture Belleisle and his men. They failed, for Belleisle and his fourteen thousand troops escaped and returned to France, with such strategy and endurance that even his enemies admired his courage. It is stated that "no European army ever experienced more dreadful sufferings." The soldiers, with nothing but frozen bread to eat, were compelled to sleep on the snow and ice and they perished in great numbers. A Bohemian historian wrote: "The roads were dreadful to behold; they were overspread with corpses, heaps of one and two hundred men each. . . . During the whole retreat Belleisle himself, although severely afflicted with rheumatism

and unable to walk or ride, was carried in his coach or sedan to all parts where his presence was necessary." He superintended all the details of the march and, "notwithstanding the losses of his army, he had the satisfaction of preserving the flower of the French forces, of saving every cannon which bore the arms of his master, and of not leaving the smallest trophy to grace the triumph of the enemy." [5]

Maria Theresa was chagrined at the failure of her own army to capture Belleisle. But she swallowed one more disaster and celebrated the surrender of Prague by appearing in Vienna with her sister in a chariot race "in imitation of the Greeks."

Now that Prague was free of the French occupation, the way was open for Maria Theresa to be crowned Queen of Bohemia. On April 29, 1743, she entered Prague. The pomp of her progress was against a melancholy background. Many of the buildings she passed on her way up the beautiful hill were in ruins. She was unwisely cruel to those who betrayed her in Prague, those who had welcomed the French invaders. Nobles were exiled and the Archbishop was banished and disgraced. Her fullest anger fell upon the Jews, whom she hated. With wholesale disregard for proof of their guilt, she deprived them of all their possessions. When these sinister duties were over, she assumed all the splendour she could for her coronation. On May 12 she appeared in a silver robe, her hair cut short and curled. One catches a glimpse of her still remaining human in this tide of punishment and splendour. She wrote to Kinsky after the coronation complaining that her crown was much heavier than the one which she had worn at Pressburg and that it was so high that it looked like a dunce's cap.

Maria Theresa's gaiety survived the increasingly heavy years. The recent banishment of nobles and the unjust pressure upon the Jews did not prevent her from staging a carni-

val amid the ruins and distress of Prague. Neither wind nor rain discouraged her and she attended all the festivities which were prepared for her. One womanly trait in her was her delight in exhibitions of male strength. During one of the celebrations she called upon a man in her army who was famed for his physique. He pleased her by seizing the fattest of her chamberlains in one hand and, holding him aloft, marching up and down before her.

When this idle nonsense was over, she returned to Vienna and was able to enjoy a little reward and solace for her trials. Bohemia, Hungary, and the Austrian states were all hers again. The lands which her father had ruled were intact, with the exception of Silesia. To reconcile herself to this loss she was able to contemplate the ignominy of the Elector of Bavaria and to dwell upon the victories of Khevenhüller and the occupation of Munich.

Maria Theresa's chance of refreshing her antagonism against France came at an opportune time as far as England was concerned. There had been changes in the British government, and Walpole, who had always eschewed conflict, was out of power. Cartaret was now in charge of foreign affairs, and under his guidance England revived her active hatred of the Bourbons and was more inclined to support Maria Theresa instead of merely pitying her.

But England's motives were not unselfish. France was distressed by empty coffers and a spineless monarch, and the moment was good for an attack upon her. Also, George II was perturbed over the safety of Hanover. With France weakened, the Bavarians demoralized, and Prussia enjoying a lull between wars, England exploited the circumstances in her favour and rose against the French. Holland was stirred from her sleepiness to help and one more clever move in British diplomacy secured an alliance with

Russia, then ruled by Elizabeth, daughter of Peter the Great. Maria Theresa was no longer guileless enough to believe blindly in these signs, but she became more hopeful, especially when England and Holland backed their moral support with subsidies in gold. She was now able to act in splendid company.

One of the chief increments to her strength about this time was the reconquest of Bavaria. In October the Bavarians and the French had recaptured the country held after Khevenhüller's victory and the Emperor had been able to return to Munich from his exile and enjoy a brief term as Elector. But Charles reigned for no more than three weeks in his old capital. In June a force of Austrians under Maria Theresa's brother-in-law, Charles of Lorraine, took possession of Bavaria, and the Elector was obliged to retire once more to Frankfort and depend upon his empty Imperial title and the charity of France. This time Maria Theresa reduced her old enemy to the point of forcing him to sign a treaty of neutrality.

In the Bavarian campaign Maria Theresa on one occasion appeared before her army on horseback in order to encourage them. A medal was struck to commemorate this occasion on which she was designated as "the mother of the army." A book plate of the period done in the heroic rococo style of the times represents her on horseback as a majestic Empress and General.

The erratic tide of her affairs was turning again. Now that the English had declared themselves in her favour, the minor army which had survived Walpole's pacific policy crossed to Flanders, under Lord Stair. They numbered no more than sixteen thousand. These troops formed the nucleus of the Pragmatic army which, under the personal command of George II, moved as far as Frankfort early in May.

There were delays through the King's indecision and it was not until June 26, 1743, that the Pragmatic army met the French in battle, at Dettingen on the Main.

The news of the English advance inspired Maria Theresa. Her infantry and dragoons, under Neipperg, joined the Pragmatic army, and the good news was sent to her that they had made two decisive attacks. The dragoons had attacked the French cavalry, and four infantry battalions, strengthened by the experience they had gained at Mollwitz and Chotusitz, came to the rescue of the left wing of the English, who, cornered in the valley of the Main, fought their way out. The victory against the French was not brilliant, but it was enough to revive Maria Theresa's hopes. She was in Linz when the news was brought to her. She travelled by the Danube to Vienna. This time she came home as the ruler of a victorious army. However brief her season of happiness was to be, it was glorious. Many of the excited Viennese sped out on to the river to meet her and when her ship arrived at Nussdorf, its masts lively with flags, she stood at the helm, sharing the delight of her people. Vienna recovered from its misery in an hour. Maria Theresa travelled towards the fortress in an open carriage, and every old resentment and fear were forgotten as her subjects surged about her and cheered. She was ruler of a victorious army and she had given them a Habsburg heir. When she came to the fortress, her two-year-old son was waiting, carrying a flag which he gallantly handed to her.

Hardly had the cheering died when the news came of England's desertion. Instead of pursuing the French after Dettingen, George II ordered his army to turn back. Maria Theresa strove in every way to induce him to go on; Charles of Lorraine pleaded with him in her name, and when these entreaties failed, she asked the British Ambassador in Vienna to urge the King not to abandon his success. "Nobody can

give better proof than Robinson himself and the Countess Fuchs," she said, "of how depressed I was, even in Linz, about everything, so that I almost wept. I do not do this easily and have not done in the worst times, for I considered it cowardly to do so. I am now resigned and believe there is nothing more to be done." [6]

Again in September the Pragmatic army came out with an illustrious plan. Three armies were to invade France. The Austrians under Charles were to approach from the south, King George [7] and his troops over Mainz and Worms, and the Dutch through Luxemburg and Lorraine. But the campaign dwindled in importance when it was translated into action. Once more Maria Theresa saw an opportunity thrown away and she turned from the failure of her cause against France to console herself with news from Bohemia. Her General had added Ingolstadt and Eger to his conquests and she was able to write to Kinsky, in Prague: "Let us congratulate ourselves as good Bohemians upon the taking of Eger. I rejoice over this. After all the bad news, I need encouragement. The activities on the Rhine are shattered. We have only had losses. The results will be evil." [8]

Historians have differed in their views of England's actions at this time. European countries have always encouraged the accusation of perfidy against the British and the kind fate which allows us to see our neighbour's actions in a murkier light than our own has always kept this judgment of British character on the tip of Europe's tongue. Perhaps historians forget that there was not an honest and good king upon any throne in Europe in the early eighteenth century. A man of the strongest monarchic principles cannot read the story of Maria Theresa's struggles without wondering how the profession of kingship ever survived the immorality, theft, and duplicity which poisoned every court in Europe.

When George II turned tail and withdrew from the ad-

vantage he had won at Dettingen, he was no doubt more attracted to the role of peacemaker than that of conqueror. It was not only the King's view – it was the inherent view of the Briton that he should use his island as a judge's throne and dictate moral principles to the rest of Europe. Perhaps this was the part which George preferred, rather than that of a king in his armour. He was pressed also by the large number of Britons who preferred isolation from the affairs of the Continent; they resented the sacrifice of blood and money to foreign causes. George II turned from battle and pleaded once more with Maria Theresa to make her peace with Frederick of Prussia. He urged the advantages of combining their strength against France and suggested that, as a conciliatory arrangement Maria Theresa should recognize Charles of Bavaria as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and restore to him his Bavarian lands.

Again the plan was for Maria Theresa to give all and to receive little or nothing in return. "It is the system of England to lead me from one sacrifice to another," [9] she complained. The English also suggested that she should cede some of her lands to the King of Sardinia, in return for his support against France. Maria Theresa refused to give up Bavaria unless she received some other compensation for her loss of Silesia. But she was obliged to buy the support of the King of Sardinia.

The Treaty of Worms was made in September 1743 between England, Austria, and Sardinia. In return for liberal gifts of territory and co-operation in arms, the King of Sardinia was to defend Maria Theresa's Italian border and to become her ally against Bourbon ambitions in Italy.

This treaty draws attention to another field in Maria Theresa's affairs. Her enemies in the north and west were not all. During these first years of her reign she had also been obliged to struggle fiercely to hold the Italian posses-

sions which she had inherited from her father. The chief of these were Lombardy, Mantua, Parma, Piacenza, and the minor dominion of Tuscany which had been given to her husband as compensation for his loss of Lorraine. Before the Peace of Vienna, in 1735, her father's Italian territory had been more vast and it had included Naples and Sicily, which had then been handed over to the Spaniards, after being ruled by Austria for twenty-seven years. They were now ruled by Don Carlos, son of the King of Spain. His was the richest and most important tract of the peninsula, for it embraced Campagna, Apulia, the Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily. Its pulse was the beautiful and prosperous city of Naples, from which Carlos ruled his people. The Habsburgs had not forgotten the loss of Naples and Sicily, and if ever Maria Theresa's mind was free from concern over the loss of Silesia and the possible loss of Bohemia, she dreamed of the day when she might reconquer Naples and Sicily from Spain and join them once more to her northern provinces.

Her chief Mediterranean enemy was Elizabeth Farnese, herself a Princess of Parma, and married to Philip of Spain. She had soon established her power over her "hypochondriacal and doting husband" when she married him in 1714. He was as dependent upon his wife's talents as Francis was dependent upon Maria Theresa, and the King of France upon Madame de Pompadour. It was the age of woman's might in the affairs of Europe. Their power increases as the story unfolds and we are left with the sad truth that during one of the most corrupt times of monarchy in Europe, women were more powerful than they had ever been before.

Elizabeth Farnese had set the line of her ambitions soon after she married Philip. She wished for the Austrian states in Italy, not for Spain, but for her own aggrandizement.

She was ambitious rather than patriotic, and when her sons were born, she made her plans still more clearly. The eldest of them, Don Carlos, was provided for as King of the Two Sicilies. Thus she had an ally for any campaign upon which she might embark in Italy. Her youngest son, Don Philip, was without an independent patrimony or state, and Elizabeth Farnese hoped to wrest Maria Theresa's Italian territories from her and install Philip as their ruler. Like most of the monarchs who pitted their strength against Maria Theresa, she found ample historical evidence to support her claim to the lands. From the time of the death of Charles VI of Austria, Elizabeth Farnese had strengthened her decision to take Maria Theresa's possessions from her. Parma was her birthplace, and, supported by her Prime Minister, Alberoni, she never ceased to covet it and plan its conquest, along with Tuscany. There was one formidable barrier to her invasion. Between Spain and Italy a British squadron acted as policeman of the Mediterranean. It was not until 1742 that Elizabeth Farnese dared to make her first attack. The English squadron was weakened and the commander had taken his ships to Gibraltar for refitting. This was the opportune moment for her attempt and Spanish troops were landed in Tuscany. They were strengthened by a force from Naples, where Elizabeth's eldest son had long been planning to help his mother's invasion. They waited in readiness, to fight in the coming spring.[10]

It was at this point that Maria Theresa signed her treaty with the King of Sardinia, under the wing of England.[11] The tables were violently turned. Thus supported by Sardinia, the Austrian troops under Traun were able to intimidate the Spaniards and the Neapolitans. The Spaniards returned without tasting the war for which they had been prepared and Charles of the Two Sicilies found himself so harassed by threats from Britain that he was obliged to

retreat. The British sent a squadron to Naples and threatened to bombard the city if Charles would not withdraw his soldiers. England was not tardy now with her help. She kept the promises she had made when she induced Maria Theresa to co-operate with Sardinia and she policed the waters between Spain and Italy once more, forcing the Franco-Spanish squadrons back to Toulon.

Elizabeth Farnese then tried to achieve by land what she had failed to achieve by sea. In August a second Spanish army invaded Savoy, making the journey through France. The soldiers were commanded by Don Philip. Again they were repulsed. In February 1743, the Spaniards once more invaded the Italian territory, but they were turned back. Maria Theresa had established her authority. France and Spain then united in the Treaty of Fontainebleau, October 1743, called the "Second Family Compact." The Austrian ascendancy was so definite that Don Carlos was compelled to evacuate Naples.

This great triumph did not last long for Maria Theresa, however. During the following year a reverse set in. Naples was returned to Don Carlos, and Don Philip entered Milan. The confusion of loss and gain went on, and soon after Don Philip's success the Austrians turned the tide once more and ousted him from his new possession.

In this chaos of ambition and jealousy between monarchs, it is not easy to realize that in each of the contesting countries there was some attempt at normal life. The mass of people, in Spain and in Austria and even in England, were tired of the furious ambitions of their princes. Kingdoms did not exist entirely for the aggrandizement of their kings and, just as there was a large party in England which urged isolation from the old hates of Europe, so there was a majority in Spain which resented the loss of blood and the arrest of prosperity, all to gain a crown for Elizabeth Far-

nese's second son. For a little time Don Philip's cause took second place and the anger of the Spanish masses was appeased by a domestic policy. About this time Philip of Spain died and Ferdinand, his heir, was accepted as King. The calm policy continued and Elizabeth turned to less selfish duties on behalf of Spain. Her libraries and her academies engaged her attention. Taxation was lowered and Spain turned some of the energies she had squandered in Italy towards America, where her colonies were flourishing. This change in Spanish policy gave Maria Theresa one more of the few respites of her distressed existence.

Elizabeth Farnese did not rest content with domestic improvement for very long. She saw new roads built across the country, new palaces and libraries rise in the cities of Spain, and she was satisfied by the stories of wealth and conquest in the colonies across the Atlantic. But if she benefited Spain with her imagination and force of character, she still remained a Princess of Parma and she still resented the Habsburg flag which flew over her birthplace. The ambition to place her son Don Philip on a throne in Italy was not dead. Her opportunity came once more in 1749, when her stepson was on the throne.

Elizabeth Farnese had many just claims upon Maria Theresa's lands in Italy. But the history of hereditary claims in the eighteenth century is too confused for the least-prejudiced historian to distinguish between right and wrong. It was through might that the claims were finally satisfied. In 1749 the Spaniards defeated the Austrians and drove them from Genoa.[12]

Elizabeth's hour came in 1752 when a treaty was signed between Spain and Austria. Now Don Philip was Duke of her beloved Parma. Carlos was King of the Two Sicilies. There was only one cloud upon her schemes. She had never succeeded in securing Tuscany for her third son. But it is

true that Elizabeth weakened Austria's control in Italy and that it was not revived until the time of the beginning of the French Revolution.

The Spaniards were welcome in Italy. Their hearts beat more in tune with the Italians than the hearts of the Austrians did. The great excuse for Elizabeth's ambitions, if excuse is needed, is that she introduced a more prosperous form of government into the Italian states. Her colonial policy was not narrow. The careless habits of Habsburg rulers, so jealous of their own rights, yet so far estranged from any progressive colonial policy, had kept the Italians in a state of perpetual discontent. Elizabeth instructed her sons otherwise. They ruled their states, not from the palace in Madrid, but as individual principalities, each with its character to be maintained and its prosperity to be considered.

CHAPTER XIV

War between England and France. Charles of Lorraine enters Lorraine. Frederick invades Bohemia. Life in Vienna

AFTER TWO HUNDRED YEARS have passed, during which so many changes have come to the map of Europe, the slicing and exchanging of territory in the eighteenth century is confusing except to those who are steeped in geographical history. The average man is bewildered by the whims which constantly changed the boundaries upon the map. We lose sight of Maria Theresa herself in the pandemonium; the more so in the period following her refusal to give up Bavaria and the open declaration of hostility between France and England. The eddies of jealousy and hate moved out into a wide area. From Vienna, Maria Theresa watched a torn world. The war which she had had the power to cause, but not the power to win, was now of such proportions that it shook half the earth.

Maria Theresa's victory in Bavaria reminded France that Austria might now plan to regain Alsace and Lorraine. This

was a sharp thorn in the side of France. Just as England's policy was affected by the change from Walpole to Carteret, so was France's pace quickened by the death of Fleury. His tardiness no longer hindered the French "forward" party, and de Tenchin, de Noailles, and Richelieu pursued a more lively policy. Within six weeks of the signing of the treaty between Maria Theresa and the King of Sardinia, France joined forces with Spain and, under the Treaty of Fontainebleau, agreed to aid Spain in regaining Gibraltar and Minorca and to abet her plan to capture Maria Theresa's territories in Italy. There was no further attempt now at pretence about the relationship between France and England. They were at war. The forces of attack went farther and farther beyond Maria Theresa's horizon. The French fleet which set out from Dunkirk to invade England by way of the Solent was turned back by adversity and storm before it could justify its purpose. There was a sadly picturesque note in this enterprise, for the French carried the son of Prince Charles Edward Stuart with them towards the coast of England. He passed near to the Isle of Wight, upon which Charles I had been held as prisoner before his execution.

On land the French had invaded the Netherlands and held their territory through the following winter. Here was the natural battle-ground upon which they should fight the English. These campaigns and essays at sea warfare did not come near enough to Maria Theresa to affect her personal history. They were part of a period of violent unrest to which she was born. But out of the chaos there came one great sensation of hope and momentary triumph for her. Her dream of capturing Alsace and of being able to give Lorraine back to her husband was an old dream now. In June 1744 Maria Theresa almost saw her dream come true. There was an interlude before her army set out upon the

great adventure of invading Alsace. Charles of Lorraine had overshadowed his brother by this time. Much as Maria Theresa loved her husband, she was not blind to his defects as a soldier and as a thinker. It was upon the younger, Charles, that she felt that she could rely, and in January 1744 she had rewarded him for his courage in her cause by giving him her sister's hand.

Marianne, who was a year younger than the Queen, had neither Maria Theresa's dominion over others nor her masculine courage. She was gentle and neither jealous nor provoked by being the younger and obedient sister. "She is all meekness and mildness," the British Minister observed. The marriage was a splendid occasion. It was to end all too soon with the death of the bride. Charles of Lorraine gained the popularity which might have been given to his brother had the latter acquitted himself more illustriously. The difference between the two brothers was observed abroad and a tart paragraph in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June 1742 shows us that London was also aware of Francis's failings and of the comparative merits of Charles. We read that "Prince Charles is extremely commended for courage and conduct, and makes up a little for other flaws in the family." The writer remembered the failures that Francis had made at the head of the army. It was upon her brother-in-law that Maria Theresa fixed her hopes.

In June 1744 Charles of Lorraine "burst like a torrent into Alsace." Maria Theresa was excited by the prospect of her greatest victory. How often she had urged her generals to hurry on! Tardiness had been the fault of all of them. It was almost a tradition now, that the Austrians were slow in battle; that they arrived too late to win or to lose. This time it seemed that her numerous letters to Charles were not to be in vain. On June 30 he forced the passage of the Rhine at Germersheim and the enemy retired before him.

PRINCE CHARLES OF LORRAINE

after a portrait in the palace of Hetzendorf, Vienna

Now the way into Alsace was open. But again caution destroyed Austria's chance of conquest. Charles paused too long with his soldiers, instead of hurrying towards the triumph which was offered him.[1] As he paused, terrible news raced across Europe. Frederick had stirred once more in Berlin. His soldiers were rested and they breathed freely again. The time had come for him to set out marauding and this year he chose Bohemia as the prize to be stolen from Maria Theresa. At the point of conquest Charles of Lorraine had to retire across Europe with his men and join the main forces against Prussia.

Again Maria Theresa suffered from the over-cautiousness of her generals – a fault not wholly due to the generals themselves. It had long been the policy of the Habsburgs to heap personal punishment and disgrace upon generals for failure in war. The treatment of Neipperg after his debacle in Belgrade was still a horrible warning to those of Maria Theresa's officers who set out to fight for her. Knowing the results of failure, they were reduced to caution, and again and again Austria's cause suffered as the consequence. While Charles was treading nervously on the borders of Alsace, Maria Theresa's other great General, Traun, was leading her army against the Bavarians, hoping to force them still farther away, perhaps to the other bank of the Rhine. Traun had taken over the forces previously commanded by the venerable Khevenhüller, who had died in the meanwhile. But Traun also hesitated. "The army which was entrusted to him should have dealt the initial blow," wrote Maria Theresa. "Let him trust himself to God and not make mistakes or be downhearted." [2]

Maria Theresa was now twenty-seven years old. This year, as in so many others, she was to present her husband with still another child. The miracle was that neither her beauty nor her courage were weakened by the ordeals

which beset her. It was still her voice that spurred the old soldiers on, still her voice that repeated defiance when Frederick took up his sword, anxious lest she should cast her eyes upon Silesia once more, anxious also to satisfy his appetite for tracts of Bohemia.

There was a moment of relaxation before the opening of this new war with Frederick. In the twentieth century war is a disaster, but in the eighteenth century it was more or less a habit. Vienna, which has been the shrine of pleasure in its darkest years, was able to shake itself free of the shadows cast upon it by the rest of the world. Even while Frederick was preparing to tear her Bohemian lands from her, Maria Theresa found time for pleasure. Twentieth-century frankness gives us an odd view of this essentially domesticated woman guiding armies, urging lethargic statesmen to action, producing a baby almost every year, and yet presenting a fresh and kindly face to the world and still possessing the energy and inclination to dance the nights away in the ball-rooms of Vienna. People who observed her about this time wrote of her beauty which survived so many troubles, and of her maturing womanhood. Neither her cares nor the physical tax of perpetual maternity seemed to kill her delight in living. She arranged festivities, she rode daily, and at night she played cards. Even when she was pregnant, she rode every day at the Spanish school, much to the disgust of the conventional. "One usually tries to keep this condition as secret as possible," wrote a certain Hofmann. "But no secret of this kind remains hidden at court. There are many people who consider it wrong of the Queen and her physicians that she is not prevented from enjoying her exciting pleasures. Besides, it would be advisible if the Queen would ride in a woman's saddle, which almost none of the ladies of the court do, except the widowed Countess Nostitz. They all ride astride, without car-

PRINCESS MARIANNE, WIFE OF CHARLES OF LORRAINE, SISTER OF MARIA THERESA

after a portrait in the palace of Hetzendorf, Vienna

ing what comments are made." It is strange to find these vestiges of gossip surviving in the records of the time; strange to realize that Vienna was as much beset by a respectable middle-class code of criticism as any city or small town of the twentieth century. Mrs. Grundy was by no means a Victorian creation. Sometimes Maria Theresa had so much vitality left over at nightfall that she would play cards until dawn. During the winter before Frederick was to begin his invasion of Bohemia, Maria Theresa was at the height of her form. One evening she rose from the card-table, threw a domino over her shoulders, and took her friends to the ball-room on the Mehlgruben. Hofmann again moaned over her innocent indulgence. "She thinks that they do not recognize her in her masquerade costume," he wrote. "They like to please her by allowing her to think they believe this, although, to be sure, her quick and free step betrays her." [3]

The gayest time of all had been during the six weeks before Charles of Lorraine set off to invade Alsace. Many days and nights were given over to his wedding festivities. Walking through Vienna in the twentieth century and seeing the dominant figure of Maria Theresa's monument makes it difficult to believe the tales of her gaiety. One night there was a masked ball when Francis and Maria Theresa dressed as an innkeeper and his wife and "entertained their guests with less formality than would otherwise have been permissible." Her old advisers watched her anxiously and the most favoured of them, Silva-Tarouca, wrote her a letter gently reminding her that she was a monarch. All is excused by the reply she sent to him. She wrote on the margin of his letter: "Tell me all this again at the beginning of Lent."

The card-tables and the late dancing did not befuddle Maria Theresa's early morning mind. She was up and about her business without any sleep at all. She dealt with her

busy day – audiences, correspondence, ministers, advice, and family affairs – and did not sleep until the afternoon, when she stole an hour or two before dinner.

It was in August 1744 that Frederick began his attack upon Bohemia. Maria Theresa had to turn from her big dream forever – her dream of adding Alsace and Lorraine to her Habsburg world. Now all that she could do was to fight to hold what she already possessed.

CHAPTER XV

Surrender of Prague. Austrians capture Prague once more. Maria Theresa and her Hungarian subjects

IT WOULD BE WRONG to dwell too persistently upon Maria Theresa as a sad figure, in need of pity. It is true that she was the victim of a hundred malicious plans during her life. But she had the stuff of conquerors in her, and if she so often resorted to defensive tactics, it was only because she had neither the opportunity nor the army to act more boldly. She was contemptuous of weakness and would willingly have appropriated any lands which were docile enough to submit to her. It would be sentimental to view her as a victimized and defenceless woman. She belonged to her time, and although her womanliness and her natural wish to increase the prosperity of her people softened one aspect of her character, there was the other aspect. She was a Habsburg Princess and she was as avaricious for lands as Frederick, although her character forbade her at first from adopting the ethics of a highwayman.

Frederick knew of Maria Theresa's ambitions in Alsace

and Lorraine, in Bavaria, and in his now precious Silesia. He had bided his time during the winter and, with the warning of Charles's success on entering Alsace, he chose the coming summer of 1744 for his attempt on Bohemia. At all costs Maria Theresa's army was to be kept so busy that it would have no time to plan the recapture of Silesia.

The Hohenzollerns have always liked self-revelation and they have seldom tried to surround themselves with an air of mystery. From Frederick at Sans Souci to William at Doorn, the Prussian monarchs have enjoyed sharing their innermost thoughts and exposing their high-minded motives to the world. Frederick the Great has left a full record of his approach to the campaign in Bohemia. "I have no reason to doubt," he wrote to one of his ministers, "that as soon as the Queen of Hungary has finished her war against France, she intends to fall with all her forces, and perhaps those of her allies, upon me." He may have believed this, but the next statement he made showed him at his old game of trying to bolster up his cunning with a moral purpose. "The war, therefore, which the King of Prussia should make is a war forced upon him to circumvent the evil designs of his enemies . . . and so a virtue must be made of necessity." His public declaration was more high-minded still. ". . . The King demands nothing for himself," he wrote, "and his own personal interests are not in question; but His Majesty has recourse to arms for no purpose but to recover liberty for the Empire, the dignity of the Emperor, and the repose of Europe." [1]

After this false moralizing Frederick marched at the head of eighty thousand men towards Bohemia. On paper, his plan was simple. He would take Prague, which was then poorly defended, and then move south-west, to meet the Austrians. He hoped to find them sandwiched in between his own force and the Franco-Bavarian troops who were

expected to advance at the rear of Maria Theresa's army. The campaign was ill-timed. Frederick had waited too late in the summer and, although he took Prague with little resistance, when he began the next stage of his onslaught, he had to contend with a change in the motives of his allies.

The Bavarians now had their great opportunity. Austria was too busy with Frederick to guard Bavaria, and the time was ripe for recapture. Also, the epic of Belleisle's terrible journey was well known to the French, and when the cold months came, they were loath to cross the frontier. Frederick and his army therefore fought more or less alone, but they fought well. When Prague had surrendered in September 1744, after a short siege, Frederick moved south-west according to his plan and conquered all Bohemia east of the Moldau. For a few days it seemed that Maria Theresa was to lose all. The Bavarians returned to their country, and once more the Elector of Bavaria sat upon his cold throne in Munich. Thus far, all went well for Maria Theresa's enemies. But Frederick had not calculated his move well. As he was proceeding south-west, hoping to engage Charles of Lorraine on his way back from the Rhine, news came of the second Austrian army. They had advanced magnificently under Traun and they had taken Prague again. Twenty thousand Saxons and a great number of Hungarians fought on Austria's side. This time Frederick was truly beaten. He was forced across the Elbe, where he found himself cut off from Prague. He retired to Silesia, with a loss of twenty thousand men and no tactical or territorial gain whatever. He had served himself ill, but his allies well. His offensive had relieved France from the attack of Charles upon Alsace and it had given the Bavarians once more a chance of entering their capital.

Prince Charles, assisted by General Traun, a most resourceful Hungarian commander, managed to get behind

Frederick and cut off his communications with Prussia and Silesia. During this third defence against Frederick, Maria Theresa had made a dramatic appeal to Hungary. She had gone to the Hungarians to enlist their help, and forty-four thousand men had become heroes at her command. She still had the ancient and loyal Palffy to support her, but the victory of will over the Hungarians was hers.[2] A contemporary writer whose name does not survive described her achievement. "The amazing unanimity of a people so divided among themselves as the Hungarians, especially in point of religion, could only have been effected by the address of Maria Theresa, who seemed to be capable of making every man with whom she came in contact a hero. The wildest enthusiasm in favour of this captivating Princess spread from the aged Palffy to the meanest vassal of the kingdom."

When she returned to Vienna, Maria Theresa made a gallant sign of her gratitude. She sent to her old friend Palffy, who was now one of the few remaining links with her beloved hero Eugene, her own horse, a gold-hilted sword, embellished with diamonds, and a ring.[3] She wrote to him:

"*Father Palffy: I send you this horse, worthy of being mounted by none but the most zealous of my faithful subjects; receive at the same time this sword, to defend me against mine enemies; and take this ring as a mark of my affection for you.*

Maria Theresa"[4]

CHAPTER XVI

Death of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. Struggle for the Imperial crown. The Grand Duke Francis crowned Emperor. Treaty of Hanover. The Prussians take Dresden. Treaty of Dresden

CHARLES OF BAVARIA is less a villain in the eyes of historians than he seemed to Maria Theresa. She had never consented to accept him as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and from the hour of her accession she had heaped every possible humiliation upon him. But Charles's sin was his weakness and empty ambition rather than deliberate wickedness of motive. He had become the toy of France and, in his weakness, had yielded to encouragement; he had neglected his own territorial duties to pursue the more brilliant crown which was given to him at Frankfort. Remorse and ill health undermined his character more and more, and in January 1745 he died in Munich "from anguish and from shame." It was little solace to him that death came during

one of the brief periods when he was Elector of his own country. He had lost almost everything through being cajoled by Fleury, and in his last hours he handed the benefits of his bitter lesson on to his young son. His dying advice to Maximilian Joseph was that he should be content with his electoral territories in Bavaria and not aim to inherit the Imperial crown. The only way by which this advice could be followed was through compromise with Maria Theresa.[1]

The division of spoils was obvious. If the new Elector of Bavaria consented to give up his claim to the Imperial crown and any claims to the Austrian states, he would naturally demand the right to hold his lands without being molested by Austria. Maria Theresa was influenced in accepting the bargain partly by the advice of the British government, but chiefly by her old ambition. She still wanted the Imperial crown for her husband; she still wished to compensate Francis for all that he had lost when he gave up Lorraine to marry her.

As the spring came, the reasons why Maria Theresa should consent increased. The death of the old Elector had ended the Franco-Bavarian Alliance and her enemies were thereby weakened. Bavaria was no longer a menace of the same magnitude. But the young Elector wavered. France and Austria both whispered in his ear, and France was especially eager, for she feared the results of a reunion between the crown of the Empire and the crown of the Habsburgs.

February and March passed and Maria Theresa became impatient. She had learned many lessons during the few years of her reign. Whether intellectually or merely by development of her instinct we do not know, but she seems now to have perceived that the old appeals of kindliness and humanity were of little use in dealing with nations, however efficacious they might be in the nursery. This time she played Frederick's game. She sent an army against the

Bavarians and taught the young Elector his lesson, as she herself had been instructed in a similar plight some years before. The harassed boy fled from Bavaria, and Maria Theresa was now able to dictate terms. She would give his country back only in return for young Maximilian's vote in the coming election. If Francis were allowed to wear the coveted Imperial crown, she would permit the boy to occupy and rule his lands in peace.

Now Maria Theresa's will was the way. After new tangles of argument and opposition, fears and threats, from the princes qualified to vote in the election, the Grand Duke Francis was crowned Emperor at Frankfort, October 4, 1745.

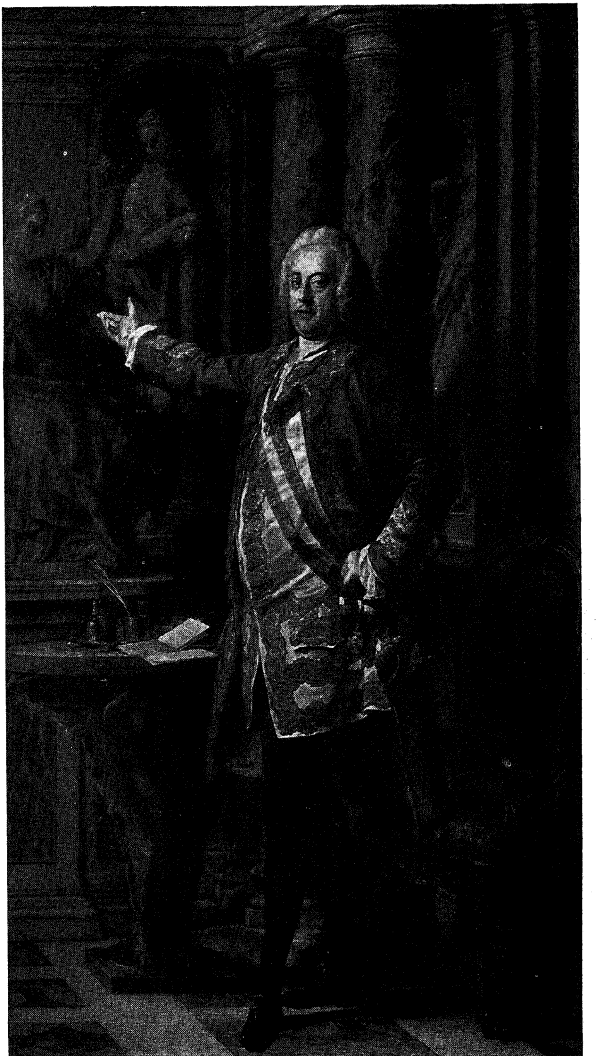
It is easy to speculate about the emotional life of princes when they have been dead for two hundred years, and the conscientious biographer must always be shy of the experiment. But it seems reasonable to suppose that Maria Theresa's relationship with her husband was divided, just as her own nature was divided, between domesticity and the State. As a monarch she was doubtful of her husband's ability; she remembered his failure as commander of her army and did not allow her love for him to hoodwink her when her country was in the balance. Although Francis usually spent the spring and summer with her busy army, he never again rose to supreme command. Francis always wished for compromise with Frederick and he fought the Prussians reluctantly. He had none of Maria Theresa's defiant blood and he would gladly have sacrificed a corner of her territory for peace. This was their chief bone of contention and we find them at variance during the siege of Prague in 1742, when Maria Theresa urged him again and again to force the army forward. "I beg you to set the troops in motion," she wrote. "They are strong enough to hold the realm. . . ." Francis had ignored his wife's appeal and

he had gone so far as to negotiate with the French without her knowledge or sanction. In such a situation we see her acting as a queen, without confusion over her affections as a wife. She wrote in anger to her husband: "There cannot be two ruling powers, one in the army and the other in Vienna."

There was one sphere in which Francis was of great service to Maria Theresa. From the time of his accession to Lorraine, he had shown himself to be a shrewd financier. This talent was acknowledged even by Frederick of Prussia, who called Francis "the banker of the court." His French blood guided him to hold money as well as to make it, and he had all the instincts of the French peasant who hoards his sous in a stocking. His character and nature were evenly balanced.

Maria Theresa, whose conception of married life was thoroughly middle-class, continued in love with him until his death and she was able to separate the mighty affairs belonging to her crown from her bourgeois habit of producing a child almost every year and sharing her husband's bed. The career of Queen Victoria affords the only other instance in history of an equivalent adjustment.

Maria Theresa was no doubt more conscious of her husband's ignominious position than documents intimate to us. Her passionate wish to solace him with the Imperial crown suggests that the empty aggrandizement meant no more than this to her: that it would elevate him and establish him as a prince among the princes of Europe. When the time came, she demanded that all the glamour should be for Francis and none for herself.[2] She advanced several excuses for not being crowned at Frankfort with him. The first was mercenary; she could not afford the splendid ceremony. To take her to Frankfort would cost three million gulden, and this was beyond her purse. Francis made no suggestion that



MEYTENS

ARCHDUKE FRANCIS STEPHEN OF LORRAINE, EMPEROR OF GERMANY

after a portrait in the palace of Schönbrunn

his own fattening fortune should be drawn on for this purpose, and Maria Theresa was left with her complaint: "If only we had had the money! But we have none, even if I would sell my jewels." Her second excuse was that she was pregnant. "I would rather not come at all than come in my present condition," she wrote to Francis. The plea of the Master of Ceremonies that the coronation gown would disguise her state was of no avail. "All this is unnecessary," she answered. "I shall not change my decision."

Guglia states that Maria Theresa placed little value upon the Imperial crown and that her own crowns of Bohemia and Hungary satisfied her; that she withheld this reason because she did not wish to belittle the honour which was to be done to Francis.[3] It is also possible that her motives were based upon her love for him – that she wished him, this once, to stand and to shine alone.

The thunder of war passed and the weapons were stilled for this lovely occasion in Frankfort. There was a mishap *en route* and their plans to meet at Aschaffenburg went awry. While Maria Theresa sailed on the Rhine to Frankfort, Francis followed her in a smaller boat. From the beginning she withdrew and merely watched him from afar. He entered Frankfort alone, rolling through the ancient streets in the coach which Rubens had painted for the Habsburg family. She witnessed the scene from the balcony of the Inn of the Roman Emperor. If in the core of her she was as much a wife as she was a sovereign, she must have tasted the womanly joy of sacrifice. For this brief moment all was to be for him. Seven days after his entry into Frankfort, Francis drove through the streets to be crowned. The ceremonies were staged between the Roman Tower and the Cathedral. Francis did not follow tradition: he wore the coronation robes of the Emperor Henry VI instead of the old robes of Charlemagne, and he wore the crown of the Em-

peror Charles II. Again she watched him from a balcony. She heard the cheering, which she took as a compliment to the royal House of Austria. She looked down on the figure she loved, and, as she watched, was observed from a neighboring balcony by the family of Goethe. The poet has left it on record that she was " beautiful beyond belief " at that moment. We are allowed then to search more deeply and discover the happiness that existed in the love between Maria Theresa and Francis in spite of the circumstances of their lives. When Francis returned from the coronation, he presented himself to her. Now he strode in greater state than ever before; he was the heir to Charlemagne's dream, however much the dream had been dissipated through the centuries. Francis raised both his hands as he approached Maria Theresa, in humour rather than in seriousness, and he gave her his orb, his sceptre, and his gloves. At this she " broke into a loud laugh " which delighted all who were watching them. Then Maria Theresa waved her handkerchief, to join in the applause.[4] It is said that she took off her gloves so that her clapping should be louder. The Habsburg etiquette yielded to human emotions, and the smile and the voice of the faithful wife of Francis showed through.

The tranquil scene of Francis's coronation was isolated in a year which was no less confused and angry than those that went before it. The fair domestic wreath was seen upon Maria Theresa's brow for one little hour, but her heart was not softened and she continued her struggle against Frederick. In this year Britain was torn within by the Jacobite rebellion in the north, and her army had been weakened by the French victory at Fontenoy. This battle, in which the Duke of Cumberland had again stirred the valour of his troops with his courage, had been a great disaster for England and her allies, and it was a demoralized army that returned to England, to help combat the rising of

the Jacobites, through which the sturdy Scots made their last effort to bring Charles Edward back to his people. The awful Forty-Five forced George II to reconsider all his alliances and to devote more time to setting his own house in order.

He had pleaded with Maria Theresa again and again to make peace with Frederick over Silesia. The British people were tired of pouring money into Habsburg coffers, to pursue a war which benefited them not at all and only weakened their Austrian ally so that she was less able to engage the French in the Low Countries. For this help England paid her, not for battles with Prussia. The British government spent their last ounce of patience in persuasion, and in the early summer the British Ambassador in Vienna waited upon Maria Theresa and pointed out that during the year England had supplied her with 1,078,753 pounds. He said that, in England's interests, the strength of the enemy should be reduced and that Maria Theresa should make peace with Frederick and satisfy whatever demands he made in consequence. The British Ambassador used the language of demand. "This return the English Nation expects for all it has done for the House of Austria," he said. "What is to be done must be done immediately. . . ." [5]

Maria Theresa had no store of calm repose to aid her on such occasions. She was ruled by her indignation and she pleaded: "Let me have but until October. If I knew I must make peace with him tomorrow, I would fight him this evening." [6]

George II has been severely criticized for his next action, although, in the light of his time, it does not seem to be stained with any specially poisonous hue. He turned against Maria Theresa and, alarmed over his own domestic unrest, made a pact with Frederick. In the Convention of Hanover, August 1745, the monarchs agreed to respect each

other's boundaries. Thus George II condoned Frederick's invasion of Silesia. The only compensation for Maria Theresa in the estrangement of her ally was that Frederick agreed not to vote against Francis in the election at Frankfort. Maria Theresa was given six weeks to accede to the treaty.

Like the least of their subjects, governments are always shocked when their neighbours reveal motives as low as their own, but they do not desist from similarly ignoble schemes themselves. Maria Theresa turned upon George II and retaliated by trying to make terms with France. Her overtures were refused and she turned from diplomacy to battle again, to give vent to her anger. "I know very well that I have it in my power to make peace," she told the Venetian Ambassador in Vienna, "but I will not do so, nor will I hear any arguments on the point. The King of Prussia only wishes to lull me to sleep, and to attack me again when I least dream of it." [7]

Harassed also by reverses in Italy, which have already been described, Maria Theresa withdrew her soldiers, at the expense of her peninsular possessions, and ordered renewed attacks upon the Prussians. She had suffered one disastrous defeat in June when her soldiers were demoralized by the Prussians at Hohenfriedberg, in spite of the fact that they were supported by thirty thousand Saxons. The next engagement had been fought during the time Maria Theresa and her husband were in Frankfort. Frederick had taken the offensive and had invaded Bohemia. The Austrians had beaten him back, but he had turned with refreshed energy and had defeated the enemy once more, at Sohr. The battles continued beyond the capacity of memory, but this last engagement had brought Maria Theresa a new kind of tragedy. Her cavalry had been able to pillage Frederick's camp and there they found his papers. These were a disastrous and

humiliating revelation for Maria Theresa when they were sent to her. They established a record of double dealing which she had never suspected in her darkest hour. There were letters from George II to Frederick, threatening to withdraw his subsidies to her if she did not make peace; there were letters from Frederick to the French, showing villainy of which she had known nothing. The Minister of Bavaria, who was with her when she read the letters, told the French Minister that she wept with anger.[8]

There was a lull from September, when Francis was crowned, until November, when Maria Theresa made still another effort to regain Silesia. This time she fought with the aid of the Saxons, and her ambitions were proportionately increased. She wished to force her troops in between Silesia and Berlin. Again the slowness of Charles of Lorraine brought disaster. On this occasion Frederick advanced magnificently. He checked the Austrians in their advance towards Silesia and another Prussian force marched towards Dresden. The King of Saxony was to pay dearly for his alliance with Maria Theresa. Charles abandoned the Silesian project and moved towards Dresden to help the Saxons. But he moved slowly and arrived too late to save Dresden. The Prussians captured it on December 18, 1745.

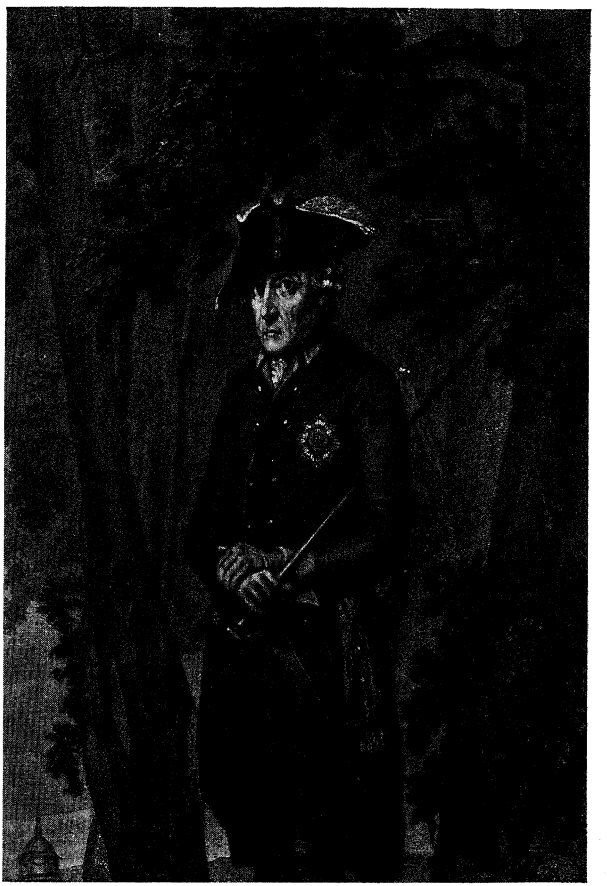
For once Maria Theresa had been carried too far upon the wave of her stubborn courage. She had to sacrifice more than ever in the inevitable treaty which followed. The Treaty of Dresden, December 25, 1745, was forced on her, because France rejected her offers of peace and because England threatened once more to withdraw all subsidies if she continued in her wild scheme. She renounced claims to Silesia and Glatz to Frederick. This was his triumph and the fulfilment of the hopes that had been spun in the creation of the great Prussian army. Many forces had helped him. He had inherited his army and he had been fed in the long

struggle against Maria Theresa by both France and Bavaria. Also, the Jacobite rising had come at an opportune time, for England's help had been withdrawn. But Frederick had contributed his own talents to his success, and however much these talents were counterbalanced by his dishonesty, he had given Europe the example of a resourceful, powerful monarch who placed opportunity above ethics, and force above all. He had, indeed, established the Prussian idea in Europe and weakened the authority of the Habsburgs.

Maria Theresa never wavered in spite of the disastrous effects of the war, but gained fervour and energy. Her practical sense of order enabled her to try to bring about better conditions. The Treaty of Dresden, which terminated the Second Silesian War, did not establish universal peace.[9] It only reduced the war on three fronts to two fronts. The Empress still had France and Spain to meet. She must retain her Austrian Netherlands and her Italian possessions. Faced by her many foes, Prussians, Bavarians, France, and Spain, Maria Theresa upon her accession had had a great foreign problem to meet. Although she had lost Silesia, she still could not be said to have been completely vanquished.

Besides the perilous foreign situation which confronted her, she was also harassed by important problems in her own domains, the consequence of feudal institutions, strongest in Hungary. She set herself to solve these problems, though there was much opposition to her measures of reorganization and taxation, both in Hungary and in her German-Bohemian hereditary lands.

Immediately after the recapture of Prague, the Queen appointed a commission to investigate the ranks and the different estates of the realm. It was on this occasion that an order of banishment was enacted against all persons who had paid homage to Charles Albert as King of Bohemia.



FREDERICK THE GREAT

from an engraving of a portrait by E. F. Cunningham

The Queen was twenty-seven years old. She had been harassed on every side, had suffered much sorrow on account of the death of her sister, was conducting diplomatic affairs of the most complicated character, but still found time to occupy herself with the internal management of a court of justice, a board of counsellors, and the activities of the officials – a gigantic task for so young a woman.

The young Queen showed unusual insight in her grasp of internal affairs, and played an important part in the organization of state government, taxation, school-management, improvements in the condition of the peasants, and dealings with the Jews and Protestants. She took an active interest in commercial questions and vigorously attempted to develop the resources of the country. She also exercised economy in her various palaces and tried to enforce justice to the limit of her knowledge, but was frequently very severe in carrying out these measures. For example, the strange mixture of tradition and despotism, of bigotry and scepticism, which is characteristic of the Austria of Maria Theresa's time found its most remarkable expression in the attitude of the Empress and her authorities towards the crime of witchcraft, which from the fifteenth century had been treated in all Austrian penal courts as a capital crime. In a certain part of Moravia a belief in vampires began to spread. Such persons were accused by the clergy of being possessed by the devil and were severely punished. In Bohemia a peasant confessed to practising witchcraft on domestic animals and was sentenced to be beheaded. The Empress was appealed to and gave the man his freedom, stating: "It is certain that witches can only be found where there is ignorance. This man is no more capable of witchcraft than I." Such utterances on the part of the Empress forced the commission to take a more conciliatory attitude towards witchcraft and sorcery.[10]

Her suggestions to the different commissions recorded in the archives show a vast amount of minute observation as well as perseverance, and their maternal solicitude for the various departments of her far-reaching kingdom is most praiseworthy. In these respects her methods of government compare favourably with those of Frederick of Prussia, who was a most punctilious ruler in keeping every department of State under his supervision. Maria Theresa set a worthy example to the smaller German princes by her thoroughness in discharging her duty as ruler. She seemed indefatigable in her conscientious determination to carry out her duties to the best of her ability.

CHAPTER XVII

Affairs in Italy. Victory over the Spaniards in Milan, Parma, and Piacenza. Death of Philip and accession of Ferdinand II of Spain. Gain and loss of Genoa. Defeats in the Netherlands and the south of France. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle

AT THE TIME when the Silesian War ended, Austria was poor and the mass of people were demoralized by eight years of uncertainty and taxation. The welcome years of peace came when they were at the point of exhaustion. The concentration of troops against Prussia had further weakened Maria Theresa's hold on territory in Italy, and the situation there and in the Netherlands must be reviewed before we come upon the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, which was signed in 1748.

In the summer of 1745 Austria's position in Italy had become more depressing than ever. One victory after another had fallen to the Franco-Spanish troops and the Genoese had turned against Austria. Maria Theresa said to the Venetian Ambassador, of the losses in Italy: "My

situation there grows worse every day and I fear that soon there will be no remedy. I consider everything lost in Italy. Much as I would wish to send troops there, I am in no position now to do this. Before February it is impossible to release any of my troops and send them to Italy. Until then, who knows what changes there may be which will make all my efforts useless? "

Maria Theresa was suspicious of her mercenary ally in Italy, the King of Sardinia, and was always apprehensive that he might join the French, who had already made overtures to him. The King of Sardinia was forced into loyalty to Maria Theresa because of his fear of growing Bourbon power in Italy.

Fickle fortune turned once more when Maria Theresa's army was released in the north by the signing of the Treaty of Dresden, in December 1745. The Austrian troops who had been quartered in Bohemia and Silesia, to defend the land against Frederick, were moved across the borders, towards Milan, which was in the hands of the Spaniards. Don Philip was already established in Milan and the nobles of the city were delighted by his presence. There was promise of his establishing a brilliant court, and they welcomed living in the company of their ruler instead of being asked to obey a distant Empress who cared for their country only as a possession. The success which fell to the Austrian troops at Milan was unwelcome to the Milanese. In March 1746 Don Philip had been forced to retire with his army to Pavia. The Austrians continued to advance. In April, Guastalla and Parma were conquered, and on June 16 the opposing columns of Spain and Austria met in fierce combat at Piacenza. Austria was victorious and Maria Theresa's pride was restored. She changed her tone to the Venetian Ambassador. "I hope," she said, " that this event will make my enemies drop the idea of driving me out of Italy."

All these events happened while Philip was still King of Spain and while Elizabeth Farnese's aggressive policy guided him. In July 1746 Philip died and his heir Ferdinand II ascended the throne. Ferdinand's peaceful intentions did not accord with his stepmother's ambition. Almost immediately after his accession the Spanish and French forces again lost Genoa to the Austrians, who were supported by Sardinian soldiers. In September, Maria Theresa withdrew some of her troops from Genoa and Venice, and while they were campaigning elsewhere, Genoa fell once more. The retreat from Genoa was calculated to kill the last wish of the Genoese to be ruled by Maria Theresa. Marquis Botta, the Austrian General, loaded the ships in the harbour with booty, confiscated the savings of the Genoese from the San Georgio Bank, and escaped with all he could lay his hands on, in the feverish hours before evacuation. Now Maria Theresa's defeat in Italy was made more horrible by the humiliation of Botta's behaviour. She was conscious not only that Austria was defeated in Italy, but that she had made herself ridiculous.

The war continued and it is important to remember that it was Maria Theresa's old enemy Belleisle who commanded the forces against her. The Austrians made one more attempt at the walls of Genoa. Helped by a British squadron, they attacked the city. They were supported by the Sardinians, but Belleisle forced the Sardinians to withdraw by invading Piedmont and engaging their attention there. Belleisle was routed and forced to withdraw from Exilles, in July 1747. But the Austrians did not succeed against Genoa and they were still engaged upon their fruitless siege in 1748, when peace was made. This was the state of Maria Theresa's Italian affairs on the eve of the signing of the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle.

We must consider her disasters in the Netherlands also

before coming to the half lull in which the treaty was signed. The Duke of Cumberland and his British troops were too busy suppressing the Jacobites to care for their commitments on the Continent, and during this moment of weakness in the Allied army the French advanced and took all before them. The allied command was pathetically outwitted by Marshal de Saxe, who took Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, and Charleroi in quick succession. This terrible reverse frightened Maria Theresa and the British government, and troops were hastened to the Netherlands. Maria Theresa sent two armies to the north, and these were supported by a mercenary Hessian corps hired by England, British troops released after Culloden, and the Dutch. Now there were ninety thousand men to stand up against Saxe's brilliant army. But Maria Theresa and her council made the fatal error of again leaving the command to Charles of Lorraine. His army was defeated at Roucoux. By the end of 1746 Saxe had taken all the Austrian land in the Netherlands, excepting Limburg and Luxemburg. The next move placed Maria Theresa in England's debt once more. The Duke of Cumberland was given command of an allied army of seventy thousand men to try to wrest the Netherlands back again. This last effort was also fruitless and news reached Maria Theresa in Vienna of Cumberland's failure to recapture Antwerp and of the entry of the French into Dutch Flanders. Saxe took Sluys and aroused the Dutch to such indignation by his invasion that they revolted and appointed William of Orange Governor and Commander in Chief. Saxe continued his advances, and when he met Cumberland at Lauffeld on July 2, 1747, the allied forces were again defeated. Saxe failed to take Maestricht, but forces under Löwendahl captured Bergen-op-Zoom on July 16, and Dutch Brabant.

This was not the end of Austria's disasters. Towards the

close of September 1746, when Maria Theresa withdrew her soldiers from Genoa and Venice, they marched towards southern France, where it was hoped that they would be joined by English troops to make an attack upon the Franco-Spanish troops at Antibes and, with another part of the army, at Toulon. France put an end to these exploits in February 1747. Belleisle commanded the Bourbon army and, with the later support of Saxe, who was transferred from the Netherlands, he forced the Austrians to retire. Retreat was not the only element of disappointment in this venture for the Empress. England had once more failed her, for the promised support had not arrived.

Maria Theresa must have passed through her darkest hour during these months. She was vanquished on every side and a treaty was as essential to her as life. She could demand little in the conferences which were to precede the framing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Her evil fortunes were dependent upon one hope, and this was the talent of her new emissary, Count Kaunitz, whose achievement will occupy its own place in a later chapter of this book. Maria Theresa was humbled by defeat and she instructed Kaunitz accordingly. She was willing to renounce Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip on condition that Lombardy be restored to her. But Kaunitz was representing a humiliated sovereign and at first his voice was not listened to with deference. It was characteristic of the Aix Congress that three secret conventions were being held during the same time as the open discussions; France was dealing secretly with England, England with Spain, and Austria with France. In this atmosphere of universal distrust Kaunitz tried to secure all he could for his Empress.

A brilliant company of delegates gathered for this greedy congress, which was to give Europe a spell of peace. Lord Sandwich represented England, Count Saint-Séverin d'Ara-

gon spoke for France, and Marquis de Sotomayer for Spain. Sardinia was represented by Count de la Clavanne, Holland by Count Bentinck, Genoa by Marquis d'Oria, and Modena by Count Monzone. It was a congress of scholarship, oratory, and masterly intrigue, symbolic of the spirit of the century.

The conferences proceeded slowly and there was no opposition or interruption when the powers reopened the war, in the hope that each might improve the terms of its peace. Personal motives also impelled the armies to this last series of engagements. The Duke of Cumberland wished to exhibit his talents as a general and the Prince of Orange wished to assert his anti-French feelings. Maria Theresa hoped to snatch a little more from the burning, especially as she was being encouraged, in this eleventh hour, by promises of help from her ally Elizabeth of Russia. She had been informed that a Russian corps was on its way to help her in the Netherlands. Thus Russia entered the wars for the first time. But Elizabeth was not called upon to do more. The battle moved into the province of words, and for some time the plenipotentiaries argued at Aix. A wider rift appeared in the lute of Anglo-Austrian friendship as the conference proceeded, and when the British Ambassador in Vienna tried to induce Maria Theresa to accept the stringent terms of peace which the powers imposed upon her, she was once more indignant with her old friend. "Why am I excluded from transactions which concern my own State?" she answered. "My enemies will give me better terms than my friends. At all events, they will not try to deprive me of more or less land which they wish to give to the King of Sardinia. All that I ask is to have the land which I had before the war in Italy. I shall take care of the Infante. Your King of Sardinia receives all attention and I receive no consideration at all. And then there is your King of Prus-

sia. Yes, truly, all these circumstances tear old wounds and inflict new ones into the bargain." [1]

Maria Theresa revealed both her strength and her weakness during the struggle for peace. Her indignation shows the personal emotion which disturbed her, the pride of family which was offended by the encroachments upon her possessions. But there was weakness also. The years had not taught her all the tricks of diplomacy, the value of silence and the hazards of frankness. She had to pay for her indignation. The first blow was the announcement that the maritime powers had signed an independent peace with France. Kaunitz had hoped that the outcome of the secret conferences with Saint-Séverin would be an independent peace with France. He had been encouraged in this hope by Saint-Séverin and was disappointed at the delay in what was the chief ambition in his foreign policy. From this moment Austria lost more and more through the negotiations, and towards the end of October Kaunitz placed his seal on the document which was to give Maria Theresa such an expensive peace.[2]

The Empress did not resign herself to her losses. When the new British Ambassador sought an audience so that he could congratulate her upon the end of hostilities, she ordered her Minister to observe to the Ambassador that "compliments of condolence were more proper than compliments of congratulation, and insinuated that the British Minister would oblige his mistress by sparing a conversation, which would be highly disagreeable to her, and no less unpleasing to him." [3]

When she recovered from her unfortunate show of ill temper, Maria Theresa was able to enjoy the advantages of peace; "I forthwith turned my thoughts into a different channel," she wrote. "The internal condition of my realm absorbed my whole attention." She was able to plan reforms,

to resuscitate her Ministry, and to devote more time to her growing family. It was true that the war had robbed her of Silesia, one of "the most precious jewels in her crown," but it had also taught her the rudiments of government. What her father had failed to teach her concerning responsibilities she had now learned through disastrous experience, and she brought a finer judgment to the problems of peace than she had given to the first years of war. In the beginning her prudence had been often wrecked by her obstinacy. She knew now, also, that she must always stand alone. Her husband had proved himself ineffectual in all but the making of money for his own enrichment, and Maria Theresa could not look to him for substantial guidance in statecraft.

The Treaty of Aix, signed October 18, 1748, terminated the War of the Austrian Succession, which was in reality a coalition against the House of Austria on the part of France, Prussia, and Spain, and was the first round in the great struggle of Austria and Prussia for the leadership of Germany. It was, at the same time, one round in the greater battle of France and Britain for mastery of America and India and the world's commerce. Austria was by far the chief loser. But the spirit of Maria Theresa was undaunted, and she immediately set about taking measures to repair her prestige and regain her ceded territories.

CHAPTER XVIII

Reforms of Maria Theresa. Changes in Ministry. Reorganization of the army. Nationalism and bureaucracy. Justice, education, and medicine. The Empress at middle age

MARIA THERESA was still hampered by her father's old ministers and it was among them that she first began her reforms after peace was signed. She had complained that she inherited her crown "without an army, without money, without credit, and without experience or knowledge" and that she had been surrounded by a council in which "every Minister gave his first attention to observing how the matter under consideration would affect himself." It was at about the time of the signing of the treaty that she was able to thank Providence for having taken a few of the stubborn old advisers who were "too prejudiced to give useful advice, but too respectable and meritorious to be dismissed."[1]

Maria Theresa liked to imagine that she put aside her maps and her plans for revenge against Prussia. She turned

the greater part of her courage and energies upon reforms. Schools, churches, criminal law, industry, taxation, and provincial government were all to be reshaped, in accordance with the pattern of western Europe. The countries of the West were changing year by year, but her own institutions were still clogged by the dust of the Middle Ages. Spain had good roads and energetic universities. England was moving towards civic consciousness, and Prussia was sweeping all the old provincial authorities aside and was drawing the control of her affairs into her capital. Maria Theresa had her examples at hand, but she ruled a different people. The Austrians, so near to the warm and languid East, seemed to catch some spell which was wafted to them from the Levant. They did not live upon calendars and clocks like the busy people of the West. They did not worry over their antiquated roads and their rickety institutions and they were too lazy to develop the civic conscience which Maria Theresa tried to stimulate. They liked their music and their wine, and they embraced ease at the expense of progress.

Maria Theresa was perhaps more Spanish than Austrian in her instincts. She was a woman of action and she was impatient with many of the characteristics of her own subjects. The first problem in her new venture was to find young men to husband her reforms. The three who emerged with honours were Ludwig Haugwitz, Rudolph Chotek, and Wenzel Count Kaunitz. Haugwitz had already proved himself capable as governor of what remained to Maria Theresa of her lands in Silesia. He had weakened the power of the landowners and nobility, to strengthen the authority of the crown. With Prussia's success to guide him in this enterprise, he had already changed the character of authority in Silesia.

Maria Theresa resented the survivals of feudalism — the

ambitions and pretences of the great nobles and landlords in her Austrian states. She brought Haugwitz from Silesia to carry out his scheme on a larger scale. Maria Theresa did not view the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle as a sign that her troubles were over. It was a respite from battle — no more — so she was wary and turned her principal attention to the regulation of her finances and the improvement of her army.

Haugwitz's first field for experiment was in the army. Up to this time the provincial landowners had raised recruits and had been paid through local taxation. This system had given the lesser princes and nobles too much military power. Haugwitz formulated a plan for an army of 108,000 men, to be paid for with an annual sum of fourteen million gulden, an increase of about five million gulden over the sum spent by the landowners in the past. The control of this army was to be centralized and no longer scattered in the provinces. And the Queen was to be in supreme command. The plan was to be tested for ten years and the greater sum required was to be raised by taxation of all lands, including those of the Church.

Maria Theresa did not impose the new laws upon the landowners without a fierce struggle, but she was fortified all the time by the talents and zeal of her new Minister. "By the extraordinary providence of God," she wrote, "I have come to know Count Haugwitz, and this was the saving of the monarchy." [2] The small princes clung to their power as long as they could. The tribal instinct was not dead and they fought to hold every feudal privilege remaining to them rather than yield to the crown. But Maria Theresa won her fight and, during the ten years of comparative peace, her new army was formed with more than a hundred thousand men, who were dependent, not upon their overlords, but on the monarch who ruled them from

Vienna. Difference in methods of training had always caused great confusion when units of the army met in battle. This problem was solved and orderliness came with the change. Dress and arms were made uniform, regiments were organized, discipline was enforced, and training camps and manœuvres were established, under the direct patronage of the Queen. Officers were educated for their careers, and soldiering was changed from being a haphazard occupation for the bold into being an orderly and scientific profession.

As the years passed, Vienna took the law more and more into her own hands. The Hofburg and its attendant bureaucracy were the font of justice, patronage, and financial control. Peasants became less slavish through the weakening of power among estate-owners. Formerly each province had made and enforced its own laws. Now there was one law and this was the law of Vienna. Although Austria began a new kind of life with these changes, it suffered in the end from excess of organization. Maria Theresa gave her far-flung provinces their first sense of nationalism. She gave one name to the Austrian people, and she created one capital, to be the centre of their lives. But the bureaucracy which made the new Austria helped also to weaken it two hundred years afterwards, when Vienna became a city of civil servants. Before the Great War in 1914, one in seven of the population worked for the State. This cult of officialdom can be traced to 1748, when Maria Theresa made her first experiments in reform.

She watched every detail of her government during the restless time of change, and she was especially vigilant over finances.[3] With the sharpness of a chartered accountant, she wrote in one of her orders: "Semi-annually a reckoning is to be submitted to me, the residue is to be reserved, and there is to be no mixing between the interest accounts and

the capital."[4] The revenue of Maria Theresa's house increased in spite of the loss of Naples and Silesia, and she soon raised the annual income from thirty million florins to thirty-six million florins during the early years of her reforms.

The three fields in which Maria Theresa allowed herself the most liberal views were justice, education, and medicine. She separated the departments of Police and Justice so that the one might not be corrupted by the other, and she showed surprising enlightenment in rescuing the schools and universities from pure Jesuit dictatorship. The youth of Austria had been entirely under the domination of the Jesuits until the middle of the eighteenth century.

In 1745 Gerhardt van Swieten, a doctor and trusted friend of the Queen, urged a reorganization of the educational system and had a far-reaching influence in freeing the school and university systems of Austria from the domination of the Church. He reorganized the University of Vienna. The Favorita, one of the Queen's favourite palaces, was given over to the Jesuits as a compensation for their diminished influence in the educational life of Austria. Here a new academy was opened, supported by the Empress and bearing her name, the Collegium Regium Theresianum. The instruction here was conducted in German, and mathematics, which had never been in the curriculum of the Jesuits, was added. Great stress was laid on mediæval and modern history, military and civil instruction, and instruction in foreign languages. Dancing, fencing, and riding were added, besides a law course of three years.

Maria Theresa's reforms in law, which have already been referred to, were liberal in the extreme.[5] She freed the peasants and the poor from the polite slavery imposed upon them by the landowners or the priests. Her crown became the symbol of justice. She allowed the common people to

feel a sense of their privileges in being her subjects. Up to this time, punishment for offences had been according to the lenience of the local authority. Now, after seven years of deliberation, Maria Theresa's jurists were to present her people with a code of laws and a system of punishments which would hold in all corners of her provinces. This, then, was the grace in Maria Theresa's rule, and in part it offsets the blind system of intolerance to which she subjected minorities, Jews and Protestants.

One benefit which grew out of her reforms still lends reputation and honour to Vienna. Maria Theresa established the city's good name as a centre for medicine, and in later years it was through her courage in permitting the inoculation of her son for smallpox that this terrible scourge was fought against and partly conquered in her countries.

Smallpox which had always been a tragedy to the Habsburgs, had robbed Maria Theresa of many of her children and relatives. Her uncle, three of her children, and two of her daughters-in-law died of the disease. Maria Theresa escaped smallpox until the epidemic of 1767, when Vienna and the countryside were terrorized. For many years the people had dreaded these occasional outbreaks, but doctors could do nothing, it seemed, to prevent it.

Her family had so often been attacked by smallpox, and van Swieten and other doctors had so often failed to cope with epidemics, that Maria Theresa determined to do something herself. Medicine had not yet emerged from the Dark Ages and the usual practice with smallpox patients was to wrap them in red flannel, to bleed them, and keep them in a dark room. With all his essays at enlightenment, van Swieten had never done better than this.

Maria Theresa heard of a new method in England, where the possibilities of inoculation had been discovered. She wrote to George III asking for his advice and help. The

King sent her a Dutch doctor, Ingenhaus of Leiden, and, to test the new treatment, Maria Theresa allowed both the Archduke Ferdinand and the Archduke Maximilian to be inoculated. The experiment, which succeeded, led to one of her most interesting innovations. She organized free inoculation for the poor, tempering the achievements of science by ordering the singing of the Te Deum in all the churches of Vienna.

In considering history from the political point of view and in recording the changes which came to civic life during Maria Theresa's reign, one loses sight of many small signs of progress. The word *reform* misrepresents their importance; they were steps in progress rather than violent changes. But it is important to remember that Maria Theresa introduced many minor encouragements for the welfare of her people, as well as the more important reforms in law, finance, and education. " She ordered prizes to be distributed among the students who made the greatest progress in learning, or were distinguished for propriety of behaviour, or purity of morals. She established prizes for those who excelled in the different branches of manufacture, in geometry, mining, smelting metals, and even spinning. She particularly turned her attention to the promotion of agriculture which, in a medal struck by her order, was entitled, the 'Art which nourishes all other arts,' and founded a society of agriculture at Milan, with bounties for the peasants who obtained the best crops. One of the surprising changes she made was in confining the rights of the chase. She ordered nobles to fence in their wild game and she permitted peasants to destroy wild bears which escaped and ravaged the fields."

Industry and domestic policy slowly fell into line with the new conception of the State. Upon this side of her duties Maria Theresa was able to use her strong instinct for

family life and bourgeois security. Manufacturers and producers were protected by tariffs, and every class was taxed for the building of new roads. Schools were improved and the monopoly of teaching was taken from the priests. Laymen and foreign professors taught in the schools and universities, and the disturbing advantages of education were extended to the poor.

With all these changes, peace turned out to be as expensive a luxury as war, and the Austrians resented the cost of their own improvement. The most lively opposition to her schemes came from Hungary, the Netherlands, and the Italian provinces. Here the people were unwilling at first to believe in Vienna as the source of all power, culture, and privileges. The aristocracy in Hungary resented any efforts to change the character of the life about them, and Lombardy, so closely attuned to the Spaniards in manners and customs, was not likely to accept Austrian reforms without question. Maria Theresa had learned the value of caution in eight troubled years. She did not force her reforms upon Hungary, Lombardy, and the Netherlands. Her one attempt to make Hungary accept a heavier burden of taxation for the sake of the army aroused such a storm that she realized her error. She handled the situation in Lombardy with great care and was able to exact increased revenue, through tact and persuasion. Even the Church in Lombardy, which had hitherto been immune from taxation, was included in the revenue schemes of the Austrian Viceroy.

Maria Theresa's affairs in the Netherlands were guarded by her brother-in-law, the Grand Duke Charles. He was a greater financier than soldier, and he encouraged commercial prosperity. Maria Theresa's policy in the Netherlands was aimed at conciliation, and by treading gently she won more and more confidence from the people and was able to draw them closer to her central government.

One of the strongest tributes to these years of reform in Maria Theresa's reign is in Frederick the Great's *Histoire de mon temps*. "She introduced an order and economy into her finances unknown to her ancestors," he wrote. Of her reorganization of the army he said: "The army acquired under the auspices of Maria Theresa such a degree of perfection as it had never attained under any of her predecessors, and a woman accomplished designs worthy of a great man."

At the time when Maria Theresa began her first reforms, she was not yet thirty years old. She had developed physically as well as mentally, but she still retained the beauty which she had always possessed – her complexion, her light blue eyes, her white, gleaming teeth. Even the Prussian Ambassador reported to Frederick: "Nobody will deny that she must be called a beautiful woman. Considering all her nightly vigils and confinements, she has still kept herself in good condition." In the twelve years of her married life she had so far brought ten children into the world; six more were to follow. Maria Theresa could already claim the loyalty of her people by virtue of her achievement as well as through her errors. She had mounted the throne without experience or preparation, with a mediocre army, an empty treasury, a world full of greedy enemies and without the support of her realm. She described the situation herself: "I believe that nobody will deny that it will not be easy to find a parallel in history, or that a crowned head ever began to reign under more unpropitious circumstances than I." [6] Although she was neither a lenient enemy nor a sentimental monarch, she was guided by matriarchal instincts. She was the mother of Austria and she usually acted towards her people as if they were a great family.

Nevertheless, there were incongruities in the benevolent and constructive plan of living, for Maria Theresa could be

ruthless and she condoned many tortures in the practice of criminal law.[7] She loved the child but she did not spare the rod.

She was womanly enough to be inconsistent in desiring the punishment of those who offended her and while she could announce alarming plans for revenge, she could also denounce her governors for hard justice. On one occasion a citizen of the Austrian Netherlands had been brutally treated by an officer of the foreign occupation. She wrote immediately to the Prince Governor of Holland: " It seems that the commanders of the barrier posts gave themselves the special task of heaping excess on excess, at the same time belittling my sovereignty and the protection which I owe my subjects. In order not to disturb anything, I have practised moderation too much, and I have proofs to testify to this, since the situation instead of being improved only grows worse. In the end the abuses became so great that, with the most apparent injustice and cruelty against all earthly and divine laws and in a manner to which there is no parallel in history, a townsman of Namur, my subject, on account of slight misconduct for which he himself, if he had been treated properly, should only have been punished with a fine, was tried, put to the rack, and then beaten. It would be difficult for me to describe the pain, yes, the disgust, which I experienced when I learned this. My position, my honour, my conscience, compel me to demand retribution, comparable with the suffering caused, as I shall never neglect the duties which I as a Christian monarch feel that I must fulfil towards my subjects." [8]

Between her relationships with her children and with her lands there was a complete analogy. She knew no difference in her anxiety, whether it concerned a great political event or an insignificant detail of inner government. She wrote in the same personal style and with the same inner participa-

tion whether her letter concerned one of her ambassadors or the fate of a single person. In her instructions to her ministers and generals she spoke as she did to her daughters and her sons. The second person singular she used was not the conventional phrase of majesty, but the confidential manner of a mother. The letters of the reigning Queen and those of the mother are so alike in spirit that they cannot be distinguished one from another. Even the Prussian Ambassador admitted this charm and amiability; "One does not have to make any formal speech," he wrote. "One may pour out one's whole heart."

Yet occasional pictures of a tender and encouraging Maria Theresa must not be allowed to blur the true character of this powerful and ambitious woman. She pursued her reforms, not so much in gentle, humanitarian care of her people as for the glory of her State. She strengthened her people, so that they should be a bulwark against invasion and so that their earning power and their capacity for taxation would also be enhanced.

Maria Theresa was of this world, for all her piety and prayers. Her religion led her to Rome rather than to Bethlehem. The piety which surrounded her would pass for middle-class respectability in the twentieth century; it was far more aware of the criticism of man than the judgment of God. Friedrich Nicolai wrote of the later years of the Empress's reign: "In the times of Maria Theresa it was an absolute necessity not only that people of high position should hear Mass at a certain hour in a certain church, in a certain place on Sunday and holy days, but also, that at a certain time a certain confessor should hear their confessions, that they should partake of the Lord's Supper in the presence of certain people, and that on fast-days they should partake of certain dishes in a certain inn at a certain table in company with certain people so that they, in case they

should be accused of sins of omission, could prove by witnesses that they had acted as good Catholics. If they could not do this, they lost their positions."

The way opened to Maria Theresa by her religion was narrow, and while it allowed her to be the mother of Austria, it did not give her the broader inspiration to be the mother of all mankind. For her, mankind was divided into Roman Catholics and infidels, and, lower than these, the Jews. These terrible prejudices guided her in her policy. One has been enchanted by the stories of her pious pilgrimages, as a child, to the churches of Vienna, her downcast eyes, and her prayers. In the closing chapters of her widowhood one's judgment will be softened once more by her piety. Before passion was born, and when passion was spent, she attended diligently upon her saints, but it was to pray for the people of her own faith and not for those beyond the pale.

Even in considering her own Church, Maria Theresa was not prone to sentimentalize or to be over-indulgent. The seeds of the violent reforms against the Jesuits carried out by her son Joseph were in Maria Theresa's mind. She said, about the time when her own reforms were being framed: "I consider it unnecessary to yield more to the Church, which is already so well established, because it does not need more power and does not use what it has for the benefit of the people. No monastery keeps within the limits of its rightful domain, and many of them shelter idlers who demand more and more that belongs to the State." [9]

The eighteenth century witnessed the pronounced development of a new consciousness of the power and influence of the State. The desire for union of the separate principalities into one great state asserted itself. The vitality of many political institutions was weakened, and the system of smaller governmental organizations and the individualism

which characterized the states of the realm gave way to a desire for centralized government. This desire was further strengthened by the Protestant Reformation.

Running alongside this pronounced desire for State development was the desire of the Habsburg rulers to develop their own principalities. Dynastic ambitions had at all times inspired them. Their solicitude for the State seldom allowed their decisions to be detached from the advantage to the house. In spite of this narrow policy they achieved lasting and beneficial results, since their ambitions ran parallel with the development of the State. However, they never forgot their right to rule; they refused to resign their rights even for the benefit of the Catholic Church, of which they were loyal members, and insisted upon exercising their authority in the control of the different orders.

The Austrians of the twentieth century realize that Rome, as well as the Habsburgs, has failed them, and they are urged by their individualism to stand alone. But in the eighteenth century the monasteries played their part in the life of the country, second only to the part played by the House of Austria. Maria Theresa reformed many of the old laws governing monasteries, and she curtailed many of their privileges, but she was a believing Catholic of the most pious kind, and when she was not with her generals, her ministers, and her family, she found a further sphere of contentment and interest in visiting the multitude of monasteries which rose, immense and rich, in the valley of the Danube, such as Melk, Kloster-Neuberg, Heilige Kreutz, and many others in Upper and Lower Austria and in the Tirol, with their baroque façades, spires, and domes towering above the fertile valleys and dominating the landscape.

Monasteries in the early centuries of Austrian history had begun their life with noble objects. The first priests were like spiritual missionaries among the ignorant and dark-

minded peasants, but this early Spartan thought had already died out of the great cloisters when Maria Theresa came to the throne, and the Church had evolved its own aristocracy and its own gorgeous manner of living. The first fine motive, dependent upon the teachings of Christ rather than the edicts of Rome, had been corrupted or become faint. The cloisters had become shrines of beauty and of intellectual life rather than of the spirit.

Maria Theresa did not understand the enlightened philosophy of her age, contrary to her illustrious son, who after her death refused to accept his mother's faith in the value of monastic orders. The Empress was the last of her line of Habsburg monarchs in pious respect for their traditions. Joseph renounced centuries-old habits during his life and closed more than fifty monasteries to show his distaste for all that they stood for.

How fixed Maria Theresa was in her conception of the cloistered life she indicated by frequently affirming that she would love to escape from the world and end her life in contemplation within a convent; and she proved her reverence for these organizations of the Church by giving two of her daughters and her youngest son to holy orders. Her son Maximilian became Coadjutor of Cologne and Münster, and her eldest daughter was made Abbess of Prague and Klagenfurt. Her third daughter, Maria Elizabeth, was Abbess of Innsbruck. In times of peace she frequently visited the great convents of her domains and lived there in great luxury. To her they stood for cultivated safety, and in the palatial halls which still give one an impression of the grandeur of the monasteries of the eighteenth century, she and her court frequently sojourned. These vast empty monasteries which today dominate almost every rich valley in Austria are a memorial of power which the Roman Catholic Church exercised in the time of Maria Theresa.

THE MONASTERY OF MELK ON THE DANUBE

visited by the Empress

The careful policing of the privileges of her own Church was generous compared with Maria Theresa's fierce hatred of Jews and her almost equally strong dislike for Protestants. One might dwell for a long time on what could have happened to the problem of Jewry in Europe if the eighteenth century had produced an enlightened monarch to master the feudal loathing of Jews – one who might have given them their first experience of self-respect. Perhaps England's prosperous and self-respecting Jewish population in the twentieth century is a reward for the comparative tolerance which she showed in the eighteenth, when the children of Israel were treated with less kindness than domestic animals, when all other aspects of life, except this, began to emerge from the darkness of the Middle Ages.

We have noted the first sign of Maria Theresa's antipathy towards Jews at Pressburg on the occasion of her coronation there. She had seen them in their melancholy houses within the ghetto, and she had expressed her prejudice in cold, intolerant words. During the Silesian wars and in the years of peace that followed, Jews were allowed a respite from torture; they were tolerated in most of the countries of Europe, but they were crowded into ghettos and they were taxed so cruelly that they had little opportunity of shaking off their misery. Maria Theresa was less kind than other sovereigns of her time. Her Catholic ideas were deeply ingrained in her, and she had no doubt fed her spite against the Jews when, as a girl, she used to walk to the convent of Siebenbüchnerinnen by way of the ghetto. In the days of her childhood the ghetto in Vienna had stretched from the fish-market to the pine wood, and there she had been able to see the Jews, marked by their gabardine and their yellow badges, as if their misery were not mark enough.

When she came to the throne, Maria Theresa soon showed that her treatment of the Jews was to depend upon her

prejudices rather than upon her good heart. She announced many edicts against the Jews, in Hungary, Bohemia, and Bavaria.[10] It has already been recorded that she punished the Jews of Prague mercilessly when her soldiers took the city after the escape of Belleisle. She made them pay 150,000 gulden, without proving any case of treachery against them. She followed up this offence by planning to expel all the Jews from Prague by 1744. Her Bohemian Chancellor was less ruthless; at least he urged the economic advantages of keeping the Jews within the city. He reported to Maria Theresa that among the 20,000 Jews in Prague, many were weak and old, and that to drive them out would only increase the number of vagabonds wandering in the countryside. He pleaded also that the commercial life and industry of the city were helped by the Jews. Maria Theresa did not heed his protest, and she signed an edict excluding them not only from Prague, but from all Bohemia. She added to the document: "And let no one of them remain in any of our hereditary lands." [11]

This high-handed judgment was not unique in Europe. In Holland, Denmark, and England the laws were less severe, and these countries protested against Maria Theresa's campaign. Her reply to the pleading of the British Minister was curt and to the point. She said that it was well known that the British government was financed by Jews. She went on with her intolerant enterprise and wrote to the Bohemian High Council: "I stand by my resolution that no Jews shall be left in Brünn and Olmütz,[12] also that they shall not be allowed to live in the suburbs." To this order was added a threat of punishment for those who allowed Jews to stay in any enclosed place overnight. By the end of August 1744 the Bohemian State Council was able to announce that not more than nine Jews remained in the city of Prague. The

unhappy colony of twenty thousand had been let loose upon the world.

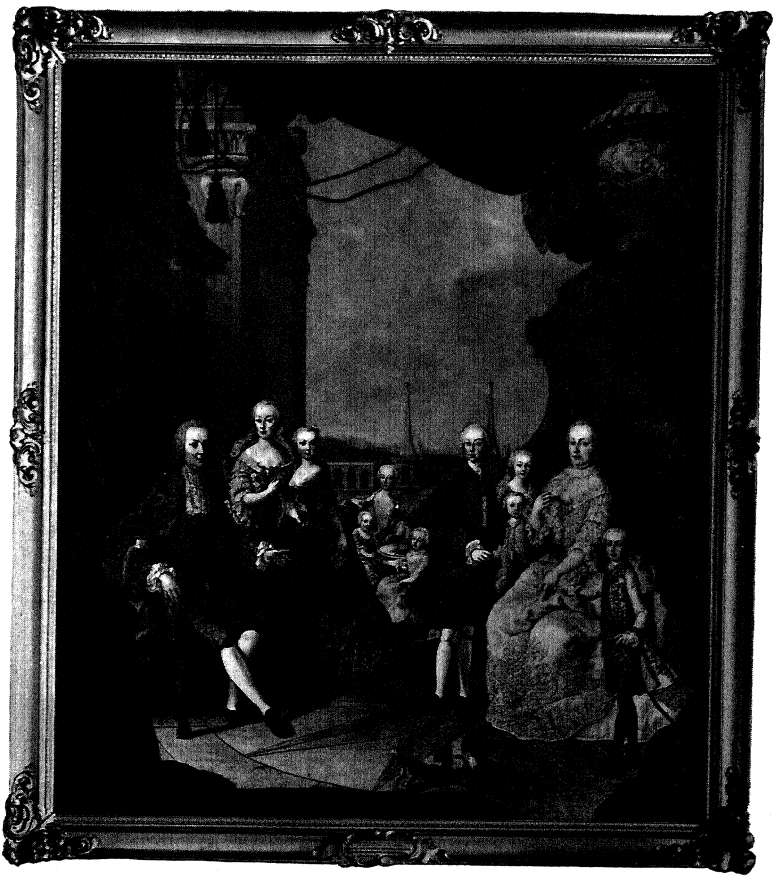
Some time after, Maria Theresa yielded to pressure from the lords of the realm. A million gulden were lost every year to the state through the ban on the Jews. Perhaps this mercenary appeal touched her in a way the human appeal did not. "Because the lords insist on it," she wrote, "I will grant this to the Jews, but positively no longer than for the ten years recess, after which I will uphold my former resolution." [13] She salved her Catholic conscience for this leniency by extorting three hundred thousand gulden from those who came back to live in Prague. This sum was shared between the lords and the state.

Prejudice ruled Maria Theresa's heart, mind, and tastes. Protestants, too, suffered under her dislike, although Maria Theresa's own mother had been a Protestant before her conversion. But to Maria Theresa, Protestants meant Prussia. The figures of Martin Luther and of Frederick, her enemy, rose out of the miasma of her dislike and she went so far as to eschew any signs of German culture which threatened her court or the life of her people.

Maria Theresa was of much livelier physique than most of the people about her. This energy helped her in forcing her reform upon her lethargic subjects. She was the first fresh-air fiend in Vienna, and when she began opening the palace windows and demanding cold rooms, the coddled ladies of the court were horrified. Again we come upon a similarity between Maria Theresa and Queen Victoria. One recalls the ladies shivering and clinging to their shawls in the corridors of Balmoral. The ladies of both courts moaned over the cold rooms, the early hours, and the Spartan habits of their female sovereigns. "She is warm-blooded," wrote the Prussian Ambassador of Maria Theresa to his master,

"and, even in the middle of winter, often sits by an open window; as a rule the windows of her apartment are wide open, very much to the discomfort and annoyance of her associates. Her physician scolds her dreadfully about this, but she only laughs at him."[14] He added the alarming announcement: "Sometimes only a few hours before the birth of a child, the Queen may be seen in the Opera, and the people scarcely hear that she has been confined before she is racing through the streets in her carriage or sitting at her desk at work."

The reward for this vigorous life was the survival of the Empress's beauty. Even when her nursery was full to overflowing; when she might have settled down to the forms and habits of a Hausfrau, men who were received at her court marvelled over her freshness. She was plumper than of old, but her walk and her smile and her grace emanated from her healthy body. At this time smallpox was the horror of Vienna. Almost one in six people had its deadly marks upon their faces. The Empress had so far escaped its ravages and we find many tributes to her beauty in contemporary letters. As late as 1758 these compliments were still paid to her by ambassadors and foreign visitors to her court, and we read of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, British Ambassador, paying her an elegant tribute in his letters. "Her person was made to wear a crown and her mind to give lustre to it," he wrote. "Her countenance is filled with sense, spirit, and sweetness, and all her motions are accompanied with grace and dignity."[15] One of the clearest descriptions of Maria Theresa was written by Count Podewils, the Prussian Ambassador. It seems that Frederick's ambassadors were always to remind him of the qualities and beauty of the woman he might have married but for the barrier between Lutheranism and Rome. Podewils wrote: "Her gait is free, her bearing majestic, her figure large, her



THE IMPERIAL FAMILY, 1755

after a portrait by Martin von Meytens in Schönbrunn

face round and full, and her voice clear and pleasant. Her countenance is beautiful, and her hair is blond with a slight tinge of red. Her eyes are very large, lively and mild, and their deep blue most striking. She has a regular nose, not hooked, and not blunt. She has very white teeth, and they are most charming when she laughs. Although her mouth is large, it is rather pretty; her neck and chest are well modelled, and her hands are exquisite. In spite of her grief and anxiety, her expression is fresh, and her skin very clear although she gives it but little attention. Her demeanour is sprightly and happy, and her greeting always warm and pleasant; there is no denying that Maria Theresa is a most charming and delightful woman."

While Maria Theresa reaped the harvest of her open windows, her early hours of rising, and her restraint over diet, her ladies grumbled as if they were locked within a convent. When she began her disciplined life, the Empress had asked Count Silva-Tarouca for a time-table which she should observe. She began her reign by rising at eight and devoting her first half-hour to prayer and a cup of coffee. For the next half-hour she interviewed her physician and listened to his reports upon the health of her children. From nine o'clock until midday she gave all her energies to State business. Luncheon never occupied more than an hour. Tasks left over from the morning were finished and then she devoted the time until four o'clock to her children. Then came two hours of audiences with ministers. From six to eight o'clock she tried to have leisure, and dinner was arranged so that she could retire at ten. But later, when the exactions on her time increased, she began to reduce the hours of sleep. Finally it became her custom to rise at five o'clock in summer and "a trifle later" in winter.

This grim decision upset all her court. Within this army of attendants – numbering in all, as stated before, some

twenty-four hundred persons – there was, of course, an intimate circle, of which Countess Fuchs was still the Empress's closest friend. Maria Theresa was willing to be influenced by women, and in addition to Countess Fuchs several of her readers and ladies-in-waiting became her advisers. Beyond these few intimates there were those ladies who had to abide by the royal taste for early hours. Her personal attendants were chiefly young women, of good family but small means. She took a kindly interest in their welfare and tried to arrange their marriages. This was poor solace to them for their uncomfortable lives. So that all might have sufficient rest and relaxation, only half of their number went on duty each morning. Those whose turn it was to obey the summons of the Empress's bell were required to appear in impeccable order. To discharge to Maria Theresa's satisfaction the combined functions of tirewomen, readers, and supernumerary secretaries was no light task. The driving pressure of duty made her an exacting mistress.

The terrible half-hour in the lives of her attendants was the time of Her Majesty's toilet. Maria Theresa was not extravagantly interested in personal adornment, but she possessed a womanly desire to please the eyes of her husband, and this was increased by her knowledge of his susceptibility to the charms of other women. His admiration for her hair made her excessively particular about its arrangement. Apparently there were early morning scenes when the chilled, cold fingers of the attendants did not succeed with the coiffure. In the end, one girl was found to have exceptional gifts and grace with the royal hair and she had to "leave her bed in the small hours of every morning" and pay the penalty of her talent. She afterwards described her service to the Empress as "glorious slavery."

This coy, feminine wish to please her husband's eye was

at war with another instinct in Maria Theresa. What affection she caught with her hair, her face, and her beauty she held with her unrelenting will. She dominated Francis so much that it was impossible for him to achieve his own identity. She owned him. This was also part of her instinct, as well as her vain desire to please. It was because of her wish that they shared one bed. Her possessive instinct caused her to arrange every device to kill the spontaneous love of her husband with manacles and domination.

Even when the hour of her rising was changed, the morning was crowded. Between five and six, there were dressing, Mass, and a sparse breakfast of a cup of coffee. For three hours she ruled over her documents. Reports, dispatches, and petitions passed under her busy hands, and, in the margins of all of them she made her comments or her decisions. For a few moments she paused from being a sovereign to be a mother. She turned from her desk to say good-morning to her children, but the indulgence did not last very long. The rest of the morning was given to conferences and interviews. In all conferences she sat as president and never failed to take a lively part in debates. She seldom departed from her rule of simple meals and at luncheon she " ate and drank sparingly, preferring lemonade to wine, and fruit to quantities of meat."

This cold impression of the Spartan Queen must not be taken as final. During her grand country visits there was time and opportunity for relaxation. The games of cards continued and at one party the Empress's zeal led her into diplomatic difficulties. This was one evening in 1764, when the English and French Ambassadors quarrelled over their precedence. She was left with the ticklish question of whether to deal cards first to the Frenchman or the Englishman. She wisely gave up the troublesome matter and de-

cided never to play the same game again. After this she played only faro with ambassadors because in this game she did not have to deal the cards at all.

In contrast to her personal simplicity the Empress always tried to increase her splendour as a sovereign. It was an age of competition among monarchs. One of the advantages of living in the debunking twentieth century is that we are able to realize to what heights of vulgarity eighteenth-century princes rose in establishing their richness in the eyes of their neighbours. Palaces became bigger and bigger, gold became more and more profuse in decoration, and table adornments became more and more sumptuous. All the heavy, ornate words belong most suitably to the state of royal life in the eighteenth century. There was gorgeousness, glamour, extravagance, and luxury. But these were often obtained at the expense of taste. Princes began to measure their glory in terms of money. They knew what things cost and were proud of the fact. The massive gold table service ordered by Maria Theresa is a memorial to her ambitions. It cost one and a half million gulden, it weighed four and a half hundredweight, and the big centre piece, which ruled over the lesser ornaments, was half an ell high and decorated with sixty-eight flowers in porcelain.

This richness set a standard for those who wished to emulate her. She spent three hundred thousand florins in decorating the palace at Pressburg, so that the standard of luxury might be carried into Hungary. The princes of her territories copied her in these extravagances. One of the most famous of these was Prince Joseph Frederick von Sachensen-Hildburghausen, whom the Empress and her husband visited at Schlosshof in 1754. There were hunting and shooting and opera during the day, and fireworks and balls at night. The most original part of the entertainment was when the Empress set free six hundred wild animals for a

mad arrangement of games. "Posts were erected in a pool and to these various animals were chained, two bears dressed in pantaloons, two wild sows dressed as Columbines, two big goats as Harlequins, and two great bulls. When this odd scene was set, doors were thrown open and ducks and geese and swans scrambled out among the beasts. The object of this entertainment was to laugh and enjoy the growling of the beasts. According to Dittersdorf, who described the scene, the anger of the animals and the fluttering concern of the birds 'gave rise to the highest glee on the part of the courtiers.'"

To keep their positions at court, princes and nobles had to emulate their royal mistress and they usually spent all to continue in her favour. When Prince Khevenhüller was sent to Frankfort in 1745 as Ambassador to the Electoral College, it cost him the main part of his fortune. It was further depleted in the following year when he had to provide the Empress with twenty thousand florins to help to pay her army in Italy. All the princes did not welcome these taxes upon their purses. Like Queen Elizabeth, Maria Theresa seems to have looked upon the riches of her barons as her own. Queen Elizabeth often reduced her nobles to poverty by arriving on their doorstep with her entire court. Maria Theresa apparently copied her. But there were exceptions and there is an amusing story of the royal visitors at the palace of Prince Kaunitz in 1755. The host did not trouble to arrange any pleasures for his Empress. He did not curb his eccentricities under the royal eye. He would not allow his guests to touch the finger-bowls before them, and when the meal was finished, he brushed his teeth while the ladies were still at the table. He embellished this odd behaviour with every coarse remark which came to his mind.[16]

CHAPTER XIX

Schönbrunn, home of Maria Theresa. Cultural life of the period. Family life. Characteristics of Francis, consort of the Empress, and Joseph

THE EMPTY PALACES of Europe which survive in the twentieth century are pathetic memorials to monarchy. The glory has departed from Sans Souci and Schönbrunn, and their once lovely halls are shabby now from neglect and given over to clusters of gaping tourists, who are allowed to walk where sovereigns walked and to gaze upon far-spreading lawns from high and lordly windows. But palaces sometimes belong to individuals as intensely as cottages, and neither revolution nor change can chase the ghosts of eighteenth-century princes from the gardens which they made; nor from the halls in which they danced and talked.

Six monarchs have lived in Schönbrunn since Maria Theresa occupied it, but they have not disturbed her supreme possession. Even the whispered scandal of mistresses in garden houses and carousals in the night do not cast any shadow upon the eighteenth-century story nor disturb the dominion

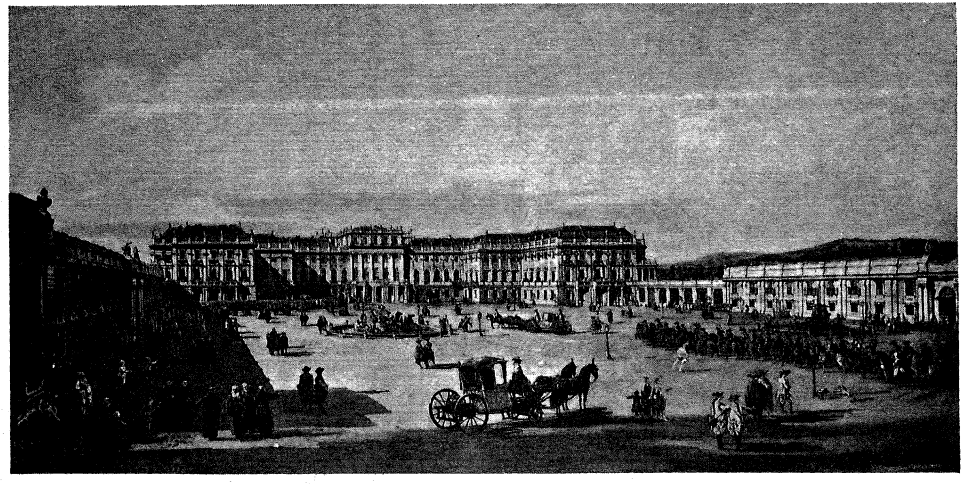
of the Empress in the long rococo rooms. A hundred stiff, painted faces of her day look down upon the bourgeois scene of 1937; the guide with his monotonous string of dates and the group of provincial women with their sandwiches and their cameras. Perhaps at night, when stillness comes, these figures in their gilt frames move; the long gallery is lively with the noise of their rustling silks; their dresses, ornate with embroidered roses, sweep the parquet floors; their uniforms, heavy with gold embroidery, catch the light of the glorious chandeliers. It is of Maria Theresa that one dreams as one passes through the multitude of rooms.

Late in the sixteenth century Maximilian II bought what there was of Schönbrunn. He surrounded the country house which stood there with orchards and, in the fashion of princes in the Middle Ages, he made a zoological garden near by. Schönbrunn was twice destroyed, by rebels and fire. Late in the seventeenth century Leopold I built a modest palace at Schönbrunn and this was inhabited by Maria Theresa.

During the first years of her reign Maria Theresa had not been able to care for her country house, but in 1744 she ordered the Italian architect Nicholas Pacassi to plan the Schönbrunn of today. Work upon the palace was finished in 1750. Maria Theresa was thus able to enjoy seeing her beloved country palace built during the years when she was resting from Frederick's attacks upon her. While Frederick was building Sans Souci, climbing the lovely terraces, in his dirty old uniform "spattered with snuff," Maria Theresa was poring over plans with her husband and the architect. Schönbrunn was to be her house as well as her palace. Its gardens were to be alive with the laughter of her children and she was to gather into its dazzling rooms ornaments from all the world. All the decorations were to be gilt. Gold was the colour which was most kingly and she used

it unsparingly. The thousands of candles were to rise from sconces of porcelain, enamel, and crystal; every window was to open upon a fairylike scene into which neither the faces nor the noises nor the smells of the vulgar world were to intrude.

The heaviness of the old baroque decoration was avoided. Maria Theresa embellished her rooms in a style which is carelessly called rococo, but which is not like the rococo decorations of France and Germany. The result was unique and deserves the particular title of Maria Theresian style, by which it is now called. Around the far-spreading castle are stretched large and beautiful parks, with basins and fountains and countless statues, all of which, even today, overwhelm the spectator by their grandeur.[1] The principal statue is a magnificent Neptune group. There are also hothouses, botanical gardens, and a menagerie. The palace buildings were shut off on the front of the palace by the so-called Glorietta, a lightly created hall of pillars, built of marble with a platform. The interior of the palace was remarkable for its beauty of decoration and the harmonious groupings of its various-shaped rooms, furnished with exquisite refinement and perfect harmony. Of utmost impressiveness, which is likewise overwhelming even in the photographs, are, for example, the Porcelain Room, which contains a very beautifully decorated ceiling and walls, an inlaid floor, and panelling of different sizes. The furniture contains luxuriously silken seats. In another room, called the Blue Room, we likewise find the typical inlaid floors, panelled walls, decorated ceilings; and what is perhaps most impressive are the richly decorated chandeliers, which contain intricate patterns of design. We should not fail to mention the large clock, which, like the other articles of furniture, is highly decorated. Of interest to us today are the ornate stoves found in Schönbrunn castle quaintly ar-



THE PALACE OF SCHÖNBRUNN, 1759

after a painting by Bernardo Bellotto

ranged to be lighted from the hallways. There are also many works of contemporary artists. The Queen's boudoir was especially attractive. It was richly decorated in rococo style. The bed, like those of the day, was canopied with rich embroideries. In the living-apartments of the Empress, where she preferred to do her work, the walls were decorated to represent an arbour with vases filled with flowers, and through the painted trees there were views in the distance like the garden arrangement in Schönbrunn. Parrots and other birds enlivened the picture, and above was the blue sky, all handled in a very natural way. The Rosewood Room, with walls of Chinese wood inlaid with vignettes, with richly gilded frames of peculiar shapes, surrounding the cartouches, which were painted on parchment representing Indian genre and war scenes, was no doubt completed before 1765, and a neighbouring small apartment with aquarelles and miniatures, such as paintings of the Emperor Francis and the Archduchess Maria Christina, perhaps dates from the year 1764. The Porcelain Room no doubt dates from this same period and has the same style of decoration as the Rosewood Room. The paintings in this room are the work of the Emperor. The personal taste of the Empress is shown in the old Lacquer Room, whose walls are covered with wood, the ceiling especially richly decorated with festoons and branches. On the walls are Chinese lacquer pictures of landscapes, flowers, and birds, framed with bizarre gold frames.

The Empress brought artists and sculptors to lend their talents to her lovely palace. Martin von Meytens came from Stockholm in 1750 to be her Director of Arts. Liotard came from Paris to paint her portrait. Etching was encouraged and in later years, through her patronage, Franz Messerschmidt became Professor of the Academy and made busts of both Maria Theresa and her husband. Metastasio was still

alive, to write poetry for Maria Theresa and to talk to her as they walked in the gardens of her new palace, and the little boy Mozart came from Salzburg to play the piano for her when he was only six years old.

Maria Theresa still depended more upon the south than the north for the culture about her and she was no doubt influenced in this by Metastasio, whose confidence she enjoyed and who always celebrated her achievements and important occasions in his grandiose verses, grandiose as the baroque of his youth.

German taste and literature made greater headway in the early fifties when the German society introduced German literature into the provinces, as well as into Vienna society. This was with the hope of increasing the purity of speech, for Austria was a babel of tongues, drawn from north, south, east, and west. In 1762 a German newspaper was started in Vienna, and Maria Theresa became so interested in the advantages of a purified language for her people that she asked Lessing to advise her. He urged her to improve the theatre, and in 1776 a German theatre was founded in Vienna. It is the Burg Theater of today. This theatre had its influence in Germanizing Viennese taste, for the French and Italian plays which society had favoured soon disappeared, and German became the language of the theatre as well as of literature. German had always been the language of the House of Austria. French was the language of the court.

A delightful picture of family life is presented in the portrait of the Imperial family painted by Martin von Meytens, after the close of the Silesian War. Nine children are represented in this picture. Besides these the Imperial household embraced the Dowager Empress, Maria Theresa's mother, who, though only fifty-five years old, looked much older, as is shown by her portrait. Elizabeth of Brunswick-

Wolfenbüttel had little political influence in the reign of her husband, Charles VI, and none at all in that of her daughter, who, however, returned her affection and made provision for her comfort in the charming castle of Hetzendorf, which had been especially decorated and fitted out for her occupancy after her husband's death. It was one of the most delightful examples of the Theresian style and, in its furnishing and decoration, is to this day a charming reminder of the good taste and elegance of Maria Theresa's reign. The Dowager Empress was a great favourite with her grandchildren. Her death, in December 1750, was of no special significance politically, but it left a great blank in the life of Maria Theresa, who was now the last of the family of Charles VI.

Schönbrunn's happiest memories are of Maria Theresa's children, who were growing up there during the years of peace, when the daily life of the Empress was not harassed by fears of defeat in battle. The Habsburgs have always been able to sacrifice their children to the strength of their family fortunes. The first of them to emerge into remembered history was Rudolph of the thirteenth century, who was elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. He wished to pass through Bavaria on the way to capture Vienna and, instead of losing soldiers by fighting his way, he gave the ruler one of his daughters in exchange for a peaceful passage to the walls of Vienna. Nor did he sacrifice blood when he came to the city. Ottokar, the thirteenth-century King of Bohemia who possessed Vienna, was tricked into surrender by the astute Rudolph, who gave another of his daughters to Ottokar's son, and a son to one of his daughters. In this fashion the House of Habsburg was established on the throne in Vienna, where it remained in power for nearly six hundred and fifty years.

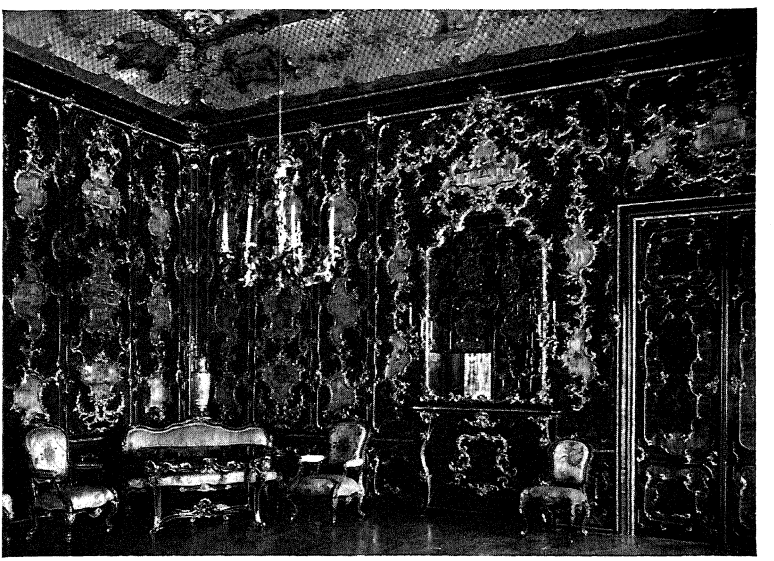
When the time came, Maria Theresa was true to her ancestry. She used her sons and daughters as trophies to

catch the prizes of European power. But during the opening years of their lives she allowed herself the pleasure of watching her children grow and she mixed benevolence and high moral standards with her selfish wish to use them to the best possible advantage to the House of Austria.

Up to 1748, the year in which her reforms began, and two years before the last ornament was added to the walls of Schönbrunn, Maria Theresa had given birth to ten children. The most important of them were Joseph, the Crown Prince, and his brother Charles, who died when he was sixteen. A note written in the fifties about one of her younger daughters shows with what care and insight Maria Theresa watched the growing characters of her children. The Empress wrote to the governess of young Princess Josepha, who at the age of thirteen was already betrothed to the second son of the King of Spain: "Her facial traits are not attractive and her manner is likewise. She has something coarse about her. I would like my daughter not to be so self-willed. She is inclined that way. She is outwardly reserved and that is a good quality, especially in the country for which she is destined, but it is not good to encourage this too much, so that it will not have too great influence on her character and result in deception. It is better to encourage her to be kind and have a cheerful disposition so that she finds means in herself, through work of all kinds, through reading, through painting and music and similar occupations, to entertain." [2]

Although this note refers to a later period, it helps us to know that Maria Theresa did not depend only upon lessons and discipline for her children's welfare or leave their natures to develop by chance.

It is easy to pass through the chapters of Maria Theresa's story and overlook her husband, Francis. He had failed as a soldier and as an adviser. Although the Empress confessed



THE "MILLIONENZIMMER"

a room in the palace of Schönbrunn decorated in the rococo style

his weakness to herself, it is distressing to imagine what might have happened had he been a stronger character. She resented not being advised and guided, but not half as much as she would have resented the opposite condition. "I am but a private individual," [3] Francis once complained, but it was well for Maria Theresa's despotic will that Francis proved a docile prince, willing, with occasional wistful sighs, to take his secondary place. But it is unfair to belittle him through comparison. Married to a different woman, in a different state of life, he might have assumed more definite shape. He was liked in Vienna. There were occasions when he proved himself kind if not illustrious. Also, he was brave. In 1744, when the Danube flooded its banks, some of the low-lying suburbs of Vienna were isolated by water. As the water rose, the people were forced to the roofs of their houses, where they remained for three days without food. Even rewards would not tempt the boatmen to go to their rescue. It was Francis who went to the river-bank and stepped into a boat to go to the assistance of the sufferers. The boatmen followed him, and when they saw him hand the first supply of food to the stranded folk, they overcame their fears. Francis did not build a fine place for himself in history, but he held the hearts of Maria Theresa's people with the more simple virtues, which endure even if they do not shine.

Francis was more lively in the education of his children. In this field he played an important part although, especially in the case of Joseph, he allowed his affections to override his sense of discipline.

Our chief interest centres in Joseph, who was his mother's heir. The first pictures of this boy who was to become an astonishing King, are simple and enchanting enough. We recall the important if involuntary role he played when his mother appealed to the Hungarian nobles, when she reduced

them to emotion and obedience by holding her baby son before them. Then, we are told, he peeped out like a "young squirrel." The scene of his seventh year is also pretty, when we read of him reciting verses by Metastasio to his father, on his birthday. From the beginning the boy enjoyed indications of the power which was waiting for him. When he walked down the halls and corridors of the Hofburg, he was saluted by fifty red-coated archers, and if he rested his young hands upon a window-sill, to look out towards the primly cut trees in the garden, he saw forty grey-coated gentlemen-at-arms parading at the feet of the palace. Three hundred and fifty men cared for his mother's horses and two hundred men were engaged for the hunting. Twenty thousand silent serfs worked in the royal fields. Joseph was treated as an Emperor from the beginning. If he wished to ride in his sleigh when there was no snow upon the ground, the snow was brought from the mountains for him in wagons. At eleven we see him once more, dressed as Cæsar, in the comedy *Saturnales*, which was produced for the pleasure of his parents. We see him also in the portraits which still hang at Schönbrunn, an intelligent, usual-looking boy, corseted within his embroidered and gorgeous clothes. But a more fierce character emerges from these glimpses of a pleasing little boy. Rembrandt, not Meytens, should have painted him. He was "opinionated and obstinate," haughty in his behaviour, and bored by study. These symptoms in her heir were frightening for the Empress.

Joseph did not alter his ways as he grew older, and he did not show increasing evidence of having inherited the characteristics of either his mother or his father. He had some of both, but most of his own. The Prussian Ambassador reported the boy as having an "aspect" which was "fierce and haughty. . . . It is only people of rank and ladies whom he honours with his attention." Maria Theresa had shown

her first fears over Joseph when he was eight. "Too many wishes have been yielded to him," she admitted. She commented on his "wild desire to carry out his will." She arranged his own court so that he might be trained away from his wilful habits and she ordered Batthyany, the Hungarian General, to observe careful habits of mind with the boy. He was to "censure vice and evil in general" when in Joseph's company. He should not "speak harshly of anyone, not even of enemy nations." [4]

Batthyany was used to the methods of the parade ground and he believed in discipline. Joseph rose at 6.45 in the morning and prayed. From 8.00 to 9.00 he studied Latin and from 9.45 to 10.30 history. German and calligraphy filled the next hour. After his midday meal he studied geography for an hour and then, most hateful to him, he was handed over to a Jesuit who worked hard upon his religious training. Joseph came to hate Jesuits as he grew older and neither Batthyany's drilling nor the Jesuit's inveighing could draw him away from his own bent. He was to become a sincere, honest despot, hating all dusty traditions which did not help life, despising empty titles, and caring only for his own strength, practical matters, and, above all, the improvement of the life of the common people. Unknown to her, Maria Theresa was harbouring a socialist in her family and it is little wonder that she comprehended Joseph less and less as he grew older.

CHAPTER XX

The rise of Kaunitz. The change of alliances. The Treaty of Westminster and the Treaty of Versailles

GREAT MEN have always seemed to be plentiful when countries have come under the rule of a woman. One could attempt to account for this by various theories, or merely believe that it is the happy result of accident. Although Maria Theresa began her reign with an inheritance of old courtiers from her father's entourage, she was more fortunate in later years when in nearly every crisis she was able to turn to the one man who could best advise her. During the years of peace after the signing of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maria Theresa was not deceived. She foresaw the day when her generals would set out once more to defend her from invaders, or to fulfil her passionate wish to regain Silesia. As her anxieties about the future increased, there came on the scene a man who was to become her perfect adviser, precisely as Haugwitz had risen at the proper moment to foster reforms and Van Swieten to revolutionize schemes for education. In the light of his time, Kaunitz was

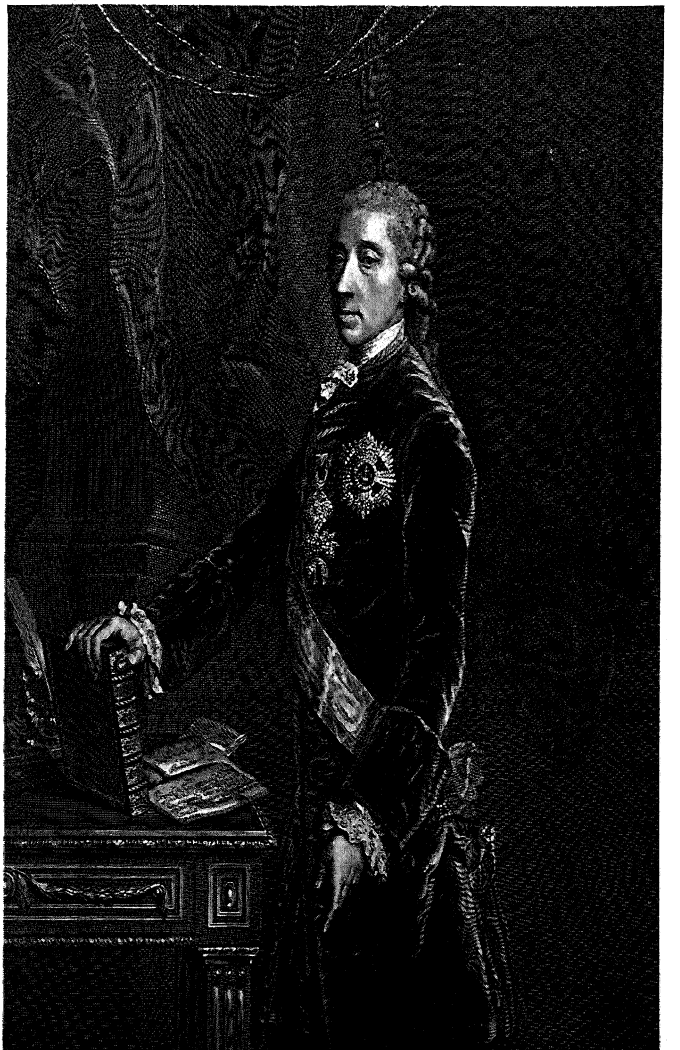
an exceedingly brilliant man, and his association with Maria Theresa furnishes one of the most interesting elements of her story.

Count Kaunitz Riedberg was well born and before his accession to power he had observed world affairs in many lands. His career opened unpropitiously, as a victim of the aristocratic system in Austria. Being a second son, he was educated for the Church and accepted a canonry at the age of thirteen. But the death of his elder brother rescued Kaunitz from this empty vocation, to engage him in more important duties for his Empress and the State. He travelled abroad and in 1741 was chosen by Maria Theresa to carry news of the birth of her first son to Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, and to the Pope. Thereafter he was entrusted with further missions in Italy, and it was from this time that the Empress was forced to recognize his talents. The first dispatch which he sent back to Vienna was "drawn in so masterly a manner" that Uhlfeld, the Chancellor, in presenting it to Maria Theresa said: "Behold your first Minister." [1]

Kaunitz's political talents developed during two subsequent years in Brussels. His perspective on the affairs of his country extended far beyond the little world of Maria Theresa's court, and he broadened his vision so that he became the superior of her other advisers, who were so occupied in clinging to their prerogatives and properties that selfishness stained much of the advice which they gave her. Kaunitz was of larger stature. The next field of his enterprise was destined to be of great importance. He was sent to France as Ambassador and was well received by the King, by the court, and especially by Madame de Pompadour. Kaunitz had been able to observe the relationships between nations in Europe objectively and he had determined his own solution for Austria through a revision of her treaties.

At this point Maria Theresa recalled Kaunitz from Paris to become her Foreign Minister. No man in Austria was better fitted to uphold the historic tradition of tact, sanity, and dispassionate judgment. The Empress had decided to supplant Uhlfeld and thought the time had likewise come to elevate Bartenstein to the Secret Council, an honour never before accorded a commoner. There was a secret reason behind Bartenstein's removal. Kaunitz had not hesitated to tell the Empress that he would not return to Vienna with Bartenstein as a rival. Among the distinguished men in the capital at the time of Kaunitz's return from Paris was Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, who reported the event to the Duke of Newcastle.[2] He said that Maria Theresa awaited the return of Kaunitz "with the same impatience as Henry VIII looked for the return of Cranmer when he was tired of Wolsey."[3]

The following description of Kaunitz at this time has not been improved upon by later writers. It states: "Kaunitz was in the forty-third year of his age when he was called to the supreme direction of affairs. In person he was tall and slender, but not ill-proportioned; his countenance was not animated, but expressive of sense and sagacity, his features were regular and his eyes keen and penetrating. This minister, justly described by the royal historian Frederick II as 'so frivolous in his taste, so profound in business,' was finical in his dress, and coldly and affectedly polite in his demeanour. From his residence at Paris, he had caught the characteristic gallantry of the French nation; with the phlegm and sedateness of a German he blended the airs of a petit-maître, and was no less vain of his person than of his abilities. An inordinate self-love was his predominant foible; and a too great consciousness of his superior abilities and influences, rendered him vain, opinionated, presumptuous, and overbearing."[4]



WENZEL ANTON COUNT KAUNITZ-RIETBERG

after a portrait by Steiner

These phrases make the architect of Maria Theresa's fortunes seem an unlikely friend, however sharp his talents may have been. Sir Robert Keith reported him in a still more disquieting light. He "has no confidants nor even intimates," he wrote, "and therefore his designs are impenetrable." The parallel between Maria Theresa and Victoria is strikingly emphasized by the resemblance of Kaunitz to Disraeli.

The record continues. The historian admits that Kaunitz "possessed great abilities, a perspicuous method of transacting business and explaining the most complicated affairs, an accurate knowledge of the State of Europe, and an indefatigable zeal for the service of his Imperial mistress. To these qualities were added incorruptible integrity, skill in negotiation, impenetrable secrecy, profound dissimulation which he carried even to duplicity, and a semblance of candour and openness by which he acquired the confidence of those with whom he treated, even while deceiving or opposing them." [5]

The Chancellor, Kaunitz, an affected cavalier, with all sorts of old-maidish ways, held high rank as a diplomat and statesman. This strait-laced and dried-up bureaucrat overturned the old cabinet politics. The Empress pampered this odd personage so full of his own importance, to such an extent that in later years he almost tyrannized over her with his eccentricities. "This aristocrat with the long English type of countenance, and the bold pale blue eyes, the true phenomenon of enlightenment and of the rococo, although without a trace of the graciousness of that period, took a decided stand in Austrian foreign politics, and so bore himself that Europe took on a changed aspect. The important reversal in the relations of the Imperial State to France is attributable to him." [6]

Maria Theresa reviewed her European friendships after

the treaty was signed at Aix and she called upon her ministers to present their views to her. All of them, including her husband, agreed that the old friendships should survive — all except the imaginative and original Kaunitz, who thought that new experiments in friendships might be of greater benefit to Austria. Europe's condition was such that a dispassionate examination could be made of the strength of every country. Turkey had long been engaged in war with Persia and was occupied by revolts in Asia Minor, and she had not worried her traditional enemy of the West. The new King of Spain had not inherited Elizabeth Farnese's ambition for conquest and was disposed to be friendly with Austria, because of the influence of his wife, Barbara of Portugal. England had proved herself false by withdrawing from Maria Theresa's battles.[7] Maria Theresa thought the "arrogant and peremptory style" of England's letters to her both unjust and shocking and she resented the haughtiness and mercenary demands of her erstwhile friend. At times these dispatches from England were so haughty that the British Minister declined to deliver them when they arrived in Vienna. Yet Maria Theresa's advisers did not encourage any change in her alliances at first, and it was thought better for her to embrace her English ally once more and hope for the best. But Kaunitz did not agree. He admitted that England and Holland, Russia and Saxony were Austria's natural allies, and that Prussia, France, and Turkey were her natural enemies. But England had proved herself a poor friend; she had turned her attention to colonial possessions and had neglected the old quarrels of Europe. This was well for the aggrandizement of Britain, but ill for Austria.

If Austria was to have an ally in Europe, she must seek elsewhere. Kaunitz was not deceived by Frederick's comparative peace at Sans Souci: his plans for building, his

orchards, his flute-playing, and his French verses were but palliatives before battle, and, realizing this danger, Kaunitz decided that Austria needed new and strong friends. He never wavered in his belief that self-interest alone was the guiding principle of politics. This wise and cynical notion guided Kaunitz in the original advice which he prepared for his Empress. His first plan was to woo France.

During his residence in Paris, from 1750 to 1753, Kaunitz had already prepared his campaign. He had been able to observe the changing affections of the French court in regard to Prussia and to hope that Austria might profit by the fickleness. Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour were offended by Prussian arrogance and anxious because of Frederick's increasing power. Jealousy and resentment stepped in to help Kaunitz, and he placed his plan for a change of alliances before the King. Nevertheless, Madame de Pompadour and her royal master continued their friendship with Frederick, little knowing the way in which he vilified her in his talk over the table at Potsdam. Another factor was seriously disturbing France. Her enmity towards England had a fresh cause in territorial jealousy over colonial possessions. British colonists in Canada, and Clive in India, were gathering in many prizes for the young British Empire, and France was missing the colonial spoil.

Kaunitz had been supported in his first wooing of France by Maria Theresa. Although she strongly denied ever writing letters to Madame de Pompadour, it is true that she sent her cordial messages, through Kaunitz, and even presents. These panderings annoyed Francis, who remonstrated with his wife. But Maria Theresa continued to support Kaunitz's diplomatic suit with the King's mistress, and there is a record by Arneth of a lacquer escritoire which she sent as a gift to Madame de Pompadour. These overtures produced no more than friendship. Kaunitz, however, used this friend-

ship well in the end. "We do not know how it happened," he wrote, "but somehow or other it is true that the King and Madame de Pompadour and their circle are much attached to me. All this is no doubt outside real business, but personal affections of this sort meanwhile do no harm, and upon occasion may prove of the greatest importance." [8]

Neither the King nor Madame de Pompadour yielded to Kaunitz's intrigues against Prussia, and in the last year of his mission to Paris, Maria Theresa's Ambassador was obliged to change his policy. He went so far as to write to Maria Theresa seeking to induce her to abandon the French plan and make a pact with Frederick. With her usual scorn the Empress refused to consider this suggestion. For some time, Kaunitz believed that the friendship between France and Prussia could never be broken, and when he returned to Vienna at the end of his mission, this conviction guided his policy. New circumstances arose to lead him still further away from his first project. There was a difference between Austria and France over the wish of Louis XV to place Prince de Bourbon Conti on the throne of Poland. By July 1763 Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams was so convinced that Franco-Austrian friendship was unlikely that he wrote as follows of Kaunitz to the Duke of Newcastle:

"He is now convinced, although he had certainly not been of this opinion at the time he was sent to Paris, that the House of Austria must expect neither friendship nor support from the Court of Versailles and that the Empress must be induced by sound policy to constantly watch against the ambitious plans of that crown and that it was therefore imperative for her Majesty to draw the bonds of friendship with her old and natural allies closer and closer."

One more circumstance widened the gap between France and Austria and made a treaty seem still less possible. It was

the custom for emperors of the Holy Roman Empire to honour their sons by making them Kings of the Empire, and Maria Theresa wished to follow the custom with her eldest son. Louis XV opposed her plan.

There is no evidence of Kaunitz giving further thought to Franco-Austrian friendship until 1754, when the quarrels between England and France over colonial possessions caused a rift which might be exploited by Austria. There is a record of an audience in 1755 between Kaunitz and his Emperor, when they discussed a warning which had been sent to them from England. They had been advised by their fickle ally to be prepared for an invasion of the Netherlands by the French. This threat led to a diplomatic quarrel between Austria and England as to which power would supply the troops for the Netherlands. At a meeting of the Secret Council in Vienna, in June, Austria decided that she would not send more than ten or twelve thousand troops to fight in the Netherlands. In August, England denied her support altogether and there was sharp speaking between the two courts. In view of the prospect of a war between England and France, Austria had no wish to sever her alliance with England. She wished to remain neutral.

It must have been about this time that Kaunitz revived his old plan. Austria was distressed and forced to compromise and he drew up a brilliant memorandum and placed it before his sovereign. With unusual accord the ministers relinquished their prejudices and agreed to support Kaunitz in his fresh suit for the friendship of France. The gift which Austria proposed to win her alliance, was to be either the Italian Duchies, then ruled by Don Philip, Savoy, or part of the Low Countries. Looking at the map, it is easy to see the advantages which France would gain by the latter prize. All that France was to be asked to do in return was to re-

nounce her friendship with Frederick the Great and to replenish Maria Theresa's coffers so that she in turn could help Russia and consolidate her friendship in the east.

When Maria Theresa began her reign, she had dealt with the powers of Europe with girl-like trust. Now she also was shrewd in the game of diplomacy and no longer hampered by a surplus of ethical principles. With Kaunitz's inspiration and engineering, she formed her conspiracy to induce France to join her against Frederick. This conspiracy was to be the basis of her new policy in Europe.

On August 21, 1755 Kaunitz made the next step. He wrote to Count Starhemberg, the Austrian Ambassador to France, pledging him to secrecy and outlining his plan. With the letter to Starhemberg was one for Madame de Pompadour, stating that the House of Austria wished to bring its interests in accord with those of the House of Bourbon. His argument was that only ancient prejudices had retarded the success of so worthy a work on behalf of the Catholic religion and the peace of Europe. The offer outlined in the letter to Madame de Pompadour was that the Infante Don Philip should receive a section of the Netherlands and that Prince Conti should be assisted in gaining the Polish crown. Russia and France would be allied and all that France was asked, as in Kaunitz's original memorandum to Maria Theresa, was that she should turn against Frederick and Prussia. The demand was great; it required that a leading power should be convinced that its former political policy ran contrary to its own interests. The conversation which began the negotiations between France and Austria took place in an elegant setting – in a small country house, belonging to Madame de Pompadour, in Sèvres. The Abbé de Bernis, a favourite of Madame de Pompadour, was chosen to confer with Starhemberg. All that Louis XV contemplated was a peaceful alliance with Austria, and his represen-

tative expressed surprise when Austria asked also for a pledge of enmity against Prussia. Without convincing evidence of Prussia's duplicity the King of France regretted that he would not be able to break with his ally. For the moment Kaunitz's plan seemed to be hopeless, since the King declared that Prussia's strength was more important to him than was Austria's friendship.

It is interesting to remember that during the months when Austria was trying to induce the friendship of her old enemy, the Archduchess Marie Antoinette was born to Maria Theresa. This was on November 5, 1755. Kaunitz referred to both her birth and Maria Theresa's capacity for recovery in a letter to Starhemberg. "Her Majesty does not wait the customary weeks," he wrote, "but is accustomed to take up her business again all too soon. . . ." There is a melodramatic atmosphere about the birth of the Empress's fifteenth child, during this time of negotiation with France. As one historian has written, she was born with the vision of a throne and a French executioner over her cradle.

Action came at the right moment, to help Kaunitz further in his scheme. In January 1756 Frederick signed his treaty with England, at Westminster. Frederick had tricked France once more, at the moment when it helped Kaunitz even more than his own pleading could have done. When, some time earlier, it had been rumoured that Frederick was planning an alliance with England, he had reassured France. The reports, he said, were nothing but "malign insinuations" invented by his enemies, who "aimed at nothing more than to disunite me from France." He said that there was "not a word of truth" in the charges made against him. Little more than a month afterwards, the treaty was signed at Westminster, by Frederick's Ambassador in London. This treaty guaranteed England and Prussia their possessions

in Europe and affirmed that they would act in unison over any attempt to invade Germany.

Frederick revealed all the depths of his wicked talents in his behaviour to France over this treaty. He even received the French Envoy to tell him of his alliance. The disappointed Frenchman detected "some embarrassment" in his manner. Nivernais, who spoke for France in this interview with Frederick, told him that he hoped "very sincerely that His Majesty had taken the course most in accordance with his glory and his interest," and then retired.

Frederick the Great had his excuses for any immorality there was in his sudden and secret action. He was tired of France's patronizing airs and he objected to being treated as a "subordinate prince who, the moment he receives orders, is obliged to make war."

Now that Frederick had once more shown his hand, France had more to gain and less to lose in adopting Kaunitz's plan. When news of the Westminster Treaty reached Paris, the French point of view changed more quickly. Now France approached Austria, and in February 1756 the Abbé de Bernis wrote to the Austrian Ambassador declaring that Louis XV wished to conclude a treaty with Maria Theresa. There was only one important stipulation in the negotiations that followed. If France ended its alliance with Prussia, Austria was also to close her friendship with England.

The first part of the agreement was signed on May 1, 1756. Austria was to remain neutral in the war between France and England, and France was to refrain from attacking either the Netherlands or any other of the Empress's possessions. Both monarchs agreed to defend their European states together, and to make no further alliances without the consent of both. The treaty was wholly satisfying to everybody concerned. Madame de Pompadour enjoyed

her hour of triumph at Versailles, Vienna was overjoyed, and Maria Theresa declared that she had never before signed a treaty with such a thankful heart.

The alliance of Austria with France was an overthrow of every tradition, an unheard-of innovation, a revolution in diplomacy. Kaunitz in establishing this alliance buried the age-long enmity of France and united it as an ally to the Austria of Maria Theresa. He thus precipitated Prussia in a life-and-death struggle. France, the former ally of Frederick, and the Russia of Czarina Elizabeth joined hands with the hereditary house of Austria against the foe.

There had occurred one episode, twelve days after the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, which deserves full description. When it became known in England that negotiations were completed between Austria and France, the British Ambassador had sought an audience with Maria Theresa. The conversation between them is recorded in Tschuppik's *Life of Maria Theresa.* It was on May 13 that Keith waited upon the Empress to protest against the rumoured change of alliances. Keith opens the conversation.

KEITH: The evasive explanation which has been given to my sovereign in the name of Your Majesty must indicate the breaking off of long years of friendship with England.

MARIA THERESA: It is not my fault. I have not abandoned the old system, but England abandoned me and at the same time the system, when it closed an alliance with Prussia. I was disturbed by the first report as though by a blow. I and the King of Prussia are wholly incompatible. No power in the world will ever induce me to enter any alliance in which he has a part.

Keith replied that the Defensive Treaty of Westminster did not impair Austria. On the contrary, it gave the opportunity at least to remove the opposition to Prussia. Also,

Austria was on the point of making sure of the aid of France.

MARIA THERESA: How can you be surprised if I, following the example you have set me, now on my side, close a treaty with France?

KEITH: Your Majesty, I cannot believe it. I will not believe it until I see with my own eyes the name of Maria Theresa written on a treaty of alliance with France.

MARIA THERESA: I do not lie in saying that the court of Versailles was my most bitter enemy. I cannot, however, also conceal that the conditions to which England forced me in the peace negotiations of Dresden and Aix left me completely helpless.[9]

KEITH: Would Your Majesty the Empress and Archduchess of Austria stoop so low as to throw herself into the arms of France?

MARIA THERESA: I will not throw myself into the arms of France. Indeed, I have only two enemies, the King of Prussia and the Porte. As long as the Empress of Russia and I remain on good terms I hope to show Europe that we are able to take part against both dreadful opponents.

The British Ambassador laid the blame on Kaunitz. "The only hope," he concluded at the end of his conversation with the Empress, "depends upon making all the world an enemy of this man who is controlled entirely by pride and impudence." This interview practically terminated the alliance of Austria with England.[10]

CHAPTER XXI

The Archduke Joseph: his character and growing talents. Decoration of Schönbrunn. Culture in Vienna. Character of the Emperor Francis I

DURING THE ARGUMENTS before the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, the voice of the young Archduke Joseph was heard for the first time as a counsellor in international affairs. The gardens of Schönbrunn no longer represented the horizon of his interests, and when the proposed treaty with France was announced, he obeyed the advice of his Governor Batthyany and asked his mother if "she deemed herself safe in trusting to France, who had so often deceived her." Her heir urged her "not to separate from England, from whom she and her family had derived such effectual assistance." [1]

Joseph was now fifteen years old, and the early promise of Bartenstein, that there was more "hidden in him than one would be inclined to think," had come true. Joseph's char-

acter had grown without changing its trend. He had withdrawn more into himself, to such an extent that he was always out of sympathy with his brothers and sisters. His was a troubled spirit and inclined rather to conflict with human nature than to condone its foibles. A year before, when he was fourteen, he had been permitted increased privileges. He had been allowed to dine with his parents and to drive with them. He was drawn into the concerns of his mother's realm, and as he saw her working in the garden at Schönbrunn, with a sentry guarding her, or as he listened to her talking with his father, he became more and more aware of what was awaiting him. There were graceful pictures as well as mournful ones during these troubled years, and Francis's love for his son did not cease to be an influence on their relationship, although Joseph was soon aware of the ignominy of his father's position.

It is easy amid the wrangle over treaties and the threats of new battles to forget the evenings when the family gathered together for music; when Ferdinand beat the kettledrums and Antonia sang French songs and Italian arias; when Charles played the violin, Joseph the violoncello, and Maria Anna and Maria Christina concertos on the clavier. There were other evidences of safety in the life about Maria Theresa to please her, at the time of the signing of the treaty with France. She was permitted to feel the sensations of national strength and to watch signs of enlightenment.

In this eventful year in which she changed her alliances, in which Kaunitz achieved fame, and in which Marie Antoinette was born, Maria Theresa was able to celebrate her reforms by opening the new University in Vienna.[2] Van Swieten had fully justified the faith she had placed in him some years before. He was not lacking in enemies, because his methods as a reformer were straightforward and blunt. He had, for example, ousted the Jesuits from every possible

office. A Freemason and a Lutheran, he disliked all instances of their power. In reforming the University, he imported professors from foreign lands, and after Maria Theresa had expressed her opinion that the teaching there was "full of errors and of little practical use," he had changed the entire scope and aims of education in her capital. In this she gave him every encouragement and did not curtail his privileges, despite the many protests stirred up by his methods. He pointed out to her that of every six hundred children admitted to the Municipal Hospital, no more than twenty ever left the institution alive. Confronted with this evidence, the Empress gave Van Swieten additional power. As a result, scholars were sent abroad for study and experience, hospitals were reorganized, the Favorita, which had been one of Charles VI's country palaces, was converted into a military academy, and through the bounty of Francis tropical plants were brought from far-away countries for the Imperial and Botanical Gardens. In law, science, medicine, botany, history, military science, and hygiene there occurred vigorous and remarkable renovation. The inauguration of her new University symbolized these advances in the cultural life of Vienna, and Maria Theresa regarded the ceremony as among the chief pleasures which befell her at the time of the signing of her treaty with France.

There were many new elements of happiness in Maria Theresa's reign during these exciting years. Her friendships with Van Swieten and Kaunitz were a constant pleasure to her. By 1756 many of her old shackles had been shaken off. She now had men of her own choice doing her work in Vienna. She admitted Van Swieten to as much intimacy as she had allowed Tarouca, and she indulged Kaunitz's idiosyncrasies and blunt manners with smiles. Even her love for open windows and fresh air was brushed aside when he was conferring with her. It was almost a joke in the palace that

mistress and Minister should be so variable upon the matter of ventilation. "He's coming! He's coming!" she would call to her servants, and the windows would be closed before Kaunitz entered the room. Kaunitz's eccentricities were no more than a superficial part of him. If his scent and his foibles and his obsessions about food were all odd and amusing to Maria Theresa, she had the consolation of finding all the deep and solid virtues in him. He was above corruption, he was loyal; he was brilliant and he was industrious. More than this she could not ask from any minister.

Maria Theresa, aging, cared less and less about her personal appearance, as noted. There were inconsistencies in this passing of vanity and one finds in Khevenhüller's records a description of her refusal to attend a service at St. Stephen's because she did not like the costume which had been prepared for her. And there is a letter, written by Maria Theresa to her friend the Countess Enzenberg, to show that she was not always indifferent to dress. "For all court functions elaborate dresses are required," she wrote, "but this does not necessitate a large wardrobe, as one can wear the same dress twenty days in succession. Also it is customary to wear coats, and the hoop-skirts must not be too wide." [3]

Such feminine traits became less and less evident during middle age. Maria Theresa had given birth to fifteen children. The portrait by Meytens, in which most of her family are grouped about her and the Emperor, shows her as she was in 1755, with the beginning of a double chin and a body which had already lost its elegance. She was resigned to her loss of figure and she told her friend Countess Trautson, in 1754, that everybody was astonished at her fatness. But the inner grace remained, and a Swedish diplomat who saw her in the same year as she was painted by Meytens wrote: "One can never forget who she is. As soon as she becomes

serious she has something majestic about her which impresses one."

Schönbrunn had been finished in 1748, but there were still many vacant spaces in its vast rooms and Maria Theresa liked to find new treasures for them and to engage new artists to paint the extensive ceilings and walls. In 1760 Gregoire Guglielmi painted his frescoes on the ceiling of the great gallery. Many of the rooms were an interesting illustration of the changes in style – the slow melting from baroque to the Maria Theresian conception of rococo. The chief influences in decoration were still Italian, and painters still doted upon the arbour, the vista, and the jardiniere. But there were other influences. About this time Chinese and Indian art were introduced, and Maria Theresa welcomed the fashion which was pervading Europe. Chinese painted papers were spread on some of the walls at Schönbrunn, and in the smaller rooms beautiful Chinese vases were placed upon a multitude of gilt brackets, or Chinese paintings on parchment were hung against stretched silk. The decoration was not impersonal; it is not imagination alone that makes one conscious of Maria Theresa walking through the endless rooms at Schönbrunn, solicitous for every addition to their beauty. "There is nothing in the world that appeals to me so much, not even diamonds, as that which comes from India," she wrote to Prince Wenzel Liechtenstein in 1753, when he sent her a piece of furniture from the East. She liked especially "lacquer work and tapestries" and she told him that his gift was to be placed near her sofa at Schönbrunn so that she could "always see it."[4]

It is not possible to know how deep was the Empress's feeling about music and painting. A woman so beset with affairs could not be expected to give more than patronage to the arts which flourished in her time. But this patronage

was bestowed with great discrimination and care. One moves from a domestic glimpse of her playing accompaniments for the singing of the Dutch Envoy, in 1750, to evidences of her lively interest in the musicians of her time. No scene could be more enchanting than her first meeting with the child Mozart, who "sprang into the lap of the Empress, took her round the neck, and kissed her very heartily." [5] Gluck was more closely drawn into the court life than Mozart, and the former, who had been paid in eggs for playing his violin in the church on Sundays, became leader of the orchestra at the Vienna Opera during the fifties. Haydn, son of a wagon-builder, sang in the choir at St. Stephen's Church in the forties and was afterwards a protégé of Maria Theresa. The Empress was greatly blessed with talented subjects, in all the arts but literature, and she was an indulgent and encouraging patroness, although she never allowed her appreciation of art to overcome her queenly discretion. A letter to her son upon this matter shows the control which she exercised over her enthusiasms. Leopold wished, apparently, to take Mozart into his household, and his mother advised him:

"You ask me about taking that young man from Salzburg into your service. I don't quite see as what, as I do not believe that you require a composer or unnecessary people. If, however, it would give you pleasure, I will not hinder you. What I say is to prevent you from burdening yourself with unnecessary people. . . ." [6]

It would be picturesque but extravagant to place too much importance upon Maria Theresa's patronage of the arts. Her material help and encouragement brought opportunity to painters, musicians, and sculptors alike, but there was often a practical purpose behind her indulgence. In the theatre especially, Maria Theresa found a way of improving her people as well as entertaining them. She was careful to

exploit the chances of moralizing on the stage and she also saw the opportunity of improving the vocabulary of her multilingual subjects, by supervising the plays produced in the theatres.

If her public view of the theatre was as a school of morals and languages for her subjects, Maria Theresa's private view was more simple. She liked to be entertained. "We must have plays," she wrote to the impresario in June 1759. "Without these we cannot live in this large palace." [7] She subsidized her order with one hundred and fifty thousand gulden [8] to help him in his work.

French tragedies, the comedies of Molière, and Voltaire's *Alzare* are among the pieces one finds in the programs of the fifties. It was not until the sixties that taste moved from Italy and France, to accept the German plays of Cronegk, Johann Elias Schlegel, Questorp, Weisse, and Sonnenfels.

The more one wanders into the cultural life of the time, the less definite becomes the figure of Maria Theresa. She never became more than the patron of the creative artists about her, and the appeal to her impresario: "We must have plays," more probably reflects her effort to escape introspection than any purely æsthetic interest in the theatre. The letters she wrote to her trusted friends during these years show a sadness and resignation which is more important as a key to her state of mind than the record of her pleasures. She turned, in her depression over the state of her world, to religion and to prayer-books. "Only this kind of literature has given me any comfort," she wrote to General von Tiller. In 1750 she wrote to her friend the Countess Trautson: "My depression never leaves me. Sad days are approaching." She kept to the theme of melancholy with alarming persistency. When her daughter Maria Anna was ill in 1757, she wrote to her old friend Tarouca: "All my children belong to God and I would rather they died young

and innocent than to have them remain in a world so full of dangers." She spoke of rest. "It is not to be found here," she complained.[9]

Maria Theresa's spirit never knew calm or satisfaction and even her love for her husband was hurt by the gulf between them. If morality was untidy in the eighteenth century, gossip was sharp and loud, and Francis was not spared. In 1755 Kaunitz set down a denial of dark stories invented against Francis. "The Emperor is too cautious; he would take care not to commit an infidelity," he wrote. "There are few people in private life who live with such mutual understanding as the Imperial couple."[10] This assurance from such a cynic as Kaunitz might be taken as final, were it not for conflicting evidence from Khevenhüller. Four years afterwards Maria Theresa was aging and losing her superficial charm, and Khevenhüller remarked the love which Francis spent upon Princess Wilhelmina Auersperg. Khevenhüller looked upon it all as a flirtation, but Maria Theresa was not spared from anxiety, however innocent her husband may have been. She remained too human to conquer jealousy, but she was consoled by the interest which Francis took in his children. His eldest son was naturally his chief concern, and Francis showed good intentions rather than sound psychology in the advice he framed for Joseph. He commanded the Archduke's teachers to lay stress upon the faults of rulers as well as upon their good qualities, so that he would try to imitate them only in their good qualities. Joseph had none of the gifts of an imitator and he gathered only what he wished from his curriculum. Francis also gave his son the placid rules of living: he pointed out the virtues of control of will, gentleness and patience. He also warned his son against jealousy. Francis had been obliged to practise these merits himself for so long that he spoke with authority,

but Joseph was too busy weaving his own fierce philosophy to adopt his father's saintly ideas without question.

Most contemporary writers speak of Francis as the genial burgher rather than as the austere ruler. "His honours sat awkwardly upon him," wrote a contemporary, "and he was uneasy under his dignities." He possessed "only the shadow of authority" and he submitted without a murmur "to be a cipher." [11] He even affected to display his own insignificance and to consider himself as a subordinate to his consort. Being once at the levee, when the Empress was giving audience to her subjects, he retired from the circle and seated himself in a distant corner of the apartment, near two ladies of the court. On their attempting to rise, he said: "Do not regard me, for I shall stay here till the *court* is gone, and then amuse myself with contemplating the crowd." Upon the ladies replying: "As long as Your Imperial Majesty is present, the court will be here," "You are mistaken," he added with a smile; "the Empress and my children are the court; here I am only a simple individual."

Complaints against Francis's character appear in nearly every biography of Maria Theresa. But his virtues deserve to be emphasized. It is easy for the historian to point out "had Francis more influence, the system of Europe would probably not have been overturned," because France was so odious to him. Indeed, among the papers left by the Emperor was a note in which he had written: "The less connection with France the better; the God of the French is convenience; they have often been tried, and have always been found unfaithful." But his simple hobbies were not without merit, however little they contributed to history. He was extremely fond of natural philosophy and sought to make this taste serve his major passion for money. Thus he attempted, by using burning-glasses, to consolidate several

small diamonds into one large gem. And he continually employed chemists to search for the philosophers' stone. He patronized men of letters and was a zealous collector, particularly in the fields of history, natural philosophy, and medals. To this activity Vienna owes a cabinet as rich in these subjects as any European capital can display. Though his abilities and attainments were inferior to his wife's and his deportment less dignified, in one respect at least he was greatly Maria Theresa's superior. He was consistently a believer in toleration and invariably recommended in matters of religion the use of persuasion and argument rather than violence and persecution.

By the side of his restless, energetic wife, Francis lived a life of self-indulgence. He immersed himself in his personal interests. The duties of his position as Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire did not tax him as they had his predecessors. The significance of the Imperial power had dwindled and Francis's relation to the German nation as Roman Emperor was principally ceremonial. The three hundred or more sovereigns of different kinds – electors, dukes, princes, counts, bishops, abbés, and civic officials – who were the official members of what was known as the Holy Roman Empire, each ruled freely in his own way in his own small territory, and the Emperor was no more than the nominal head of this intricate organization. The Habsburg Imperial House, of which Maria Theresa was the last living heir, had limited its ambition to its own possessions. The House of Habsburg at this time carried on no German politics and did not interfere with the principalities of the Empire. Frederick, in speaking of the Holy Roman Empire of his day, called it "the illustrious republic of German princes." Certain privileges, however, were associated with the term "Holy Roman Empire" during the eighteenth century – such as unlimited commerce, free trade, thrift, and the de-

velopment of cultural life in the small principalities.[12] But the character of the principalities of the Empire was changing and there were already signs of a distinct movement towards German unity. In the twentieth century, when this unity is a power, it is interesting to turn back to the historian Heinrich von Treitschke and to read his remark: "Woe to the peace of the world if a hundred thousand German bayonets belong to one ruler."

CHAPTER XXII

Maria Theresa's growing influence in Hungary. Her reforms and her disagreement with the nobles. Rumours of her romance with Grassalkovich. Proofs of her devotion to Hungary and the final restoration of the southern provinces

THE HUNGARIANS were so far estranged from the spirit which ruled in Vienna that they did not at first accept Maria Theresa without many doubts as to her right and her capacity to rule them. Charles VI had conceded a little to their demands, but for many years they had been treated as rebels, and they could not realize that under Maria Theresa they were to experience their first sense of being drawn into the life of the House of Austria. Maria Theresa's experiment in calling the Diet together for the first time in twelve years afforded a romantic occasion, but Hungary required more than this to be convinced of her good intentions.

The wars which followed her coronation occupied Maria Theresa's attention, but there were many signs of her gratitude when the Hungarians shared in her infrequent victories. "You know how boundless are my affection and trust for the Hungarian nation," she wrote to Palffy. "With a grateful heart, I am prepared to do all that is in my power for the country." [1]

Maria Theresa's words were not empty. She began on a constructive and imaginative campaign to prove her gratitude and her interest. One of the greatest encouragements which she planned was in the organization of the Collegium Theresianum in Vienna.[2] This college for the instruction of young noblemen as officers embraced the Hungarians also, and of the two hundred places in the college, between fifty and sixty were always allotted to Hungarian subjects. She drew many of the Hungarian nobility into Viennese society, and she afterwards created a special Hungarian guard at her court. The effect of this was far-reaching, in forming a class of cultivated and enthusiastic Hungarian subjects, who were in touch with European culture and thought. Among them was George Bessenyei, who encouraged the officers to spread in their own country what they learned in Vienna. One sees the influence of this change in Hungarian literature and poetry of the time. Rousseau and Voltaire began to affect the thought of the educated class in Hungary.[3]

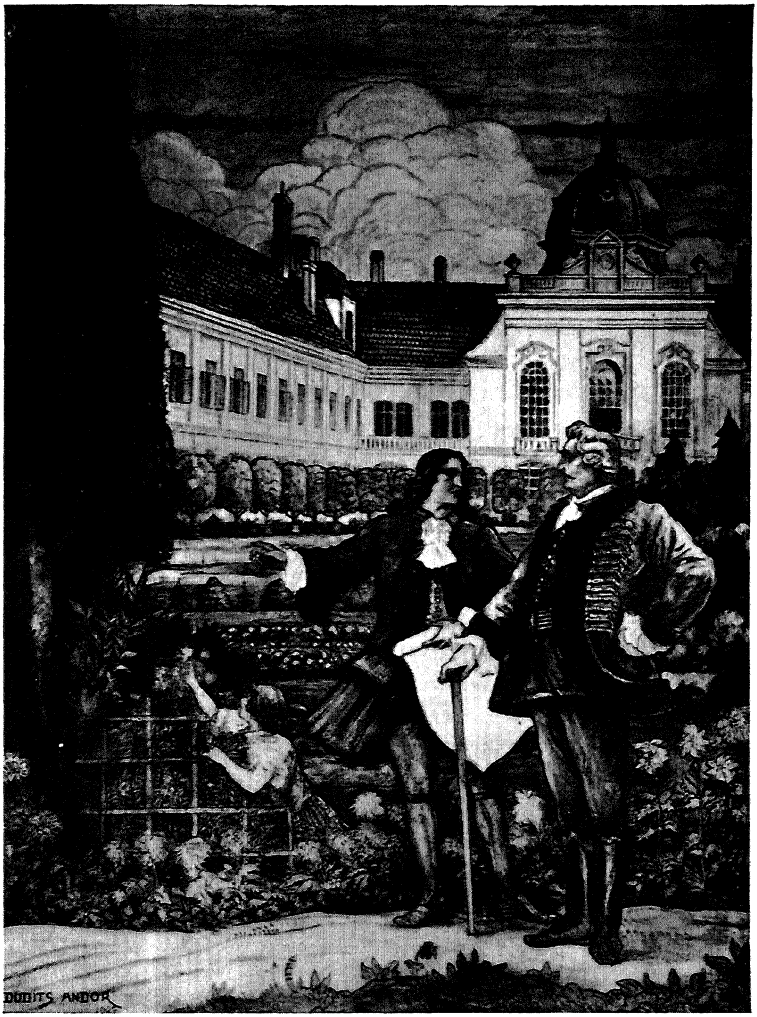
Maria Theresa still further strengthened her influence over this portion of her realm by frequently visiting Hungarian nobles. Thus, she stayed many times with Prince Esterházy, who had copied the Viennese fashion by building vast and elegant palaces, even going so far as to create a pavilion *à la Chinoise* at Cseklesz, because he knew of Maria Theresa's taste for Oriental decoration. The nobility of Hungary began to give fêtes and theatrical entertainments, in emulation of the Austrian nobles, and there are records

of a favourite form of Viennese entertainment of that time, when peasants were dressed in elegant clothes and waited upon by their illustrious betters, as a strange diversion. Maria Theresa seems to have fitted into the scene on these visits to Hungarian estates with great pleasure and success, and one welcomes the description of her standing upon the balcony of Count Grassalkovich's palace, in the evening of the summer of 1751, looking down upon the peasants dancing in the garden. Within the palace her nobles attended upon her, and without, her humble subjects cheered her. She might have drawn great confidence and satisfaction from such proofs of their devotion.

But the way was not always easy. Jealousy sometimes intervened and she had once to calm a quarrel over precedence when Princess Esterházy, who was mistress of the Ladies of the Diplomatic Corps, and Countess Daun, wife of her great General, argued as to who should go first in a sleigh-drive. These superficial signs of discontent grew out of deeper differences, between the ideas of Vienna and the old, conservative principles of the rich Hungarian nobles.

Maria Theresa tried in many ways to show her real interest in Hungary. Both Joseph and Charles were given Hungarian tutors, and when Ferdinand was only ten years old, he delighted the nobles in Pressburg by making elegant inquiries about their country in their own tongue. It was the first time Habsburg princes had ever been taught Hungarian. The members of the Diet were delighted in 1751 when they welcomed the Archduke Charles, the third son of the Queen, and listened to his reply to their compliments, written out in Hungarian. Maria Theresa added to her appeal for their loyalty by wearing Hungarian costume and by dressing her children in Hungarian clothes whenever they were in the country.

The Empress showed many signs of her affection. She



COUNT GRASSALKOVICH

in the gardens of his palace Gödöllö, near Budapest, Hungary.

appointed Duke Albert of Teschen, married to her favourite daughter, Maria Christina, Governor of Hungary, and the instructions with which she armed the couple show that she gave anxious thought to the way in which they approached their duties. They were to be "equally amiable to all classes" and they were to give "many priests pleasure" by attending, not one, but several churches on feast-days. She made one engaging reservation. The lesser nobles were to be admitted to receptions, along with their princely superiors, but they were to be entertained in a separate room. They were not to see their rich betters playing at cards lest they might be tempted to follow their example and gamble away their patrimony and estates.

To inaugurate social changes was not difficult, but Maria Theresa had to step warily in trying to reform the methods of taxation. She resented the old system by which the peasants were suppressed, and bled for every penny which was paid for the government and defence of the country. Nobles and the Church had always been exempt from taxation. In addition to her measures of reform in education, medicine, and hygiene in Hungary, Maria Theresa tried to induce the Diet to sanction taxation of both Church and nobility. In 1752 she ordered free medical treatment for the poor, free nursing of pregnant women, hygienic burial of the dead, homes for prostitutes and for orphans. Prisons were also improved, and culprits were no longer marked on visible parts of their bodies lest their opportunities should be prejudiced on their release. When the Jesuits were reduced from power by order of Pope Clement XIV, she arranged for the money realized from the funds of the Jesuits to be used for improved education. These reforms were known as the *Ratio Educationis* and they were directed against the so-called "Confessional" or schools belonging to various creeds. Maria Theresa wrote that even in her

grave these reforms would afford her satisfaction. One is amazed by the enlightened curriculum which was prepared for the young and by the spirit of citizenship which inspired it. The greatest possible degree of culture was aimed at by introducing German into the Hungarian schools. Among other innovations, playgrounds were planned in which the children might "run about, lift weights, and play rural games." Maria Theresa founded a medical faculty in the University in Ofen (now Budapest) and there is a record of her presenting a telescope to the students, to encourage them.

The Hungarian noblemen did not welcome these changes, which placed knowledge and all its dangers in the hands of their peasants. At this time the poor were more or less slaves and worked on the land and in manufacturing, without wages. This dark state of repression and intimidation could not last, and Maria Theresa found herself at enmity with the leaders in Hungary. Her courage did not fail her and she did not hesitate to say that she "must follow" her own conscience. "I do not wish to be damned forever because of a few magnates and nobles," she wrote.

The Diet was assembled at Maria Theresa's order in 1764 to consider the frightening suggestion that Church and nobles should bear part of the burden of taxation. The Empress strengthened her plea by sanctioning the publication of a pamphlet asking for relief for the peasants and urging the Church and the nobles to share the expense of governing and arming the country. She found alarming signs of resentment. The pamphlet was burned and the revolutionary scheme was brushed aside. The nobles resented any inroad upon their power or their riches and they retaliated by asking for better conditions for the export of their wines and other products. Maria Theresa was still on the side of the poor and refused to grant any further concessions.

"The export of the products of Hungary should by no means be made easier," she said, "since the rich, who would be the only ones to benefit, do not deserve such help." She showed increasing courage in the way she upheld her principles and she did not mind estranging her powerful Hungarian friends. "Would you believe it," she said, "that the Prince Palatine Batthyany and the family Esterházy are the worst of oppressors? I shudder at it." [4]

Maria Theresa would not yield and, once frustrated by the nobles, she never called the Diet together again. She proceeded with her reforms without asking for their advice or their consent.

It was part of Maria Theresa's greatness that she did not harbour rancour against those who opposed her. There are few signs of her personal hatred of anybody, except those who tried to wrest her Habsburg possessions from her. She continued to try to prove her devotion to Hungary, however much she was opposed by the nobles. She was, in spirit and in acts, the first Habsburg sovereign who had ever tried to be King of Hungary in more than name.

The most gracious sign she ever made of her affection was when she brought the sacred right hand of St. Stephen from Ragusa and gave it to the Hungarian people in 1765.[5] Their reverence for St. Stephen was one of the most sacred themes in their history, and when Maria Theresa deposited the saint's hand in the chapel of the castle at Ofen, she won much love and fresh loyalty. She made one more gesture by arranging for the translation of an old hymn, "Oh, glorious holy relic of the right hand," into Hungarian and ordering that it should be sung as an anthem on August 20, the day of St. Stephen.

Monarchs live so much in the limelight that their morals are subject to suspicion and criticism from which the less illustrious of their subjects are spared. The only accusations

of infidelity ever made against Maria Theresa involved one of her Hungarian chancellors, Count Grassalkovich, whose relationship with her was unique if not affectionate. Anton Grassalkovich rose to power and riches upon his merits. He had been one of her staunchest supporters in the movement to enlist the assistance of the nobles in her coronation at Pressburg. The well-known facts of history prove their devotion as sovereign and adviser. Grassalkovich was the first minor noble she ever flattered by staying at his house. She went many times to one or the other of his palaces, and once he showed her the pots and pans in which he had carried his food when he was so poor that he had been obliged to accept charity from the Franciscan monks.

Many letters exist to prove the devotion of Grassalkovich and the gratitude of Maria Theresa. But traditional stories, still repeated in Hungary, suggest that there was love as well as loyalty in their friendship. Maria Theresa's letters to Grassalkovich included in the family archives were returned to her by the family at her request, and they were no doubt destroyed. One cannot, therefore, pry into them for denial or proof of the assertion, but there are letters in the archives of the Grassalkovich family to this day, from Joseph Puchler, the private cabinet secretary, to add colour to the romantic story.[6] We are asked to believe that when Maria Theresa was in Pressburg in August 1741, Grassalkovich was her lover and that her favourite daughter, Maria Christina, was born in May of the following year, in celebration of their secret escapade. Like most rumours in history, this one can be supported with enough filmy evidence to satisfy suspicion, if not to convince historians.

When Maria Christina's husband was appointed Governor of Hungary, and the young couple proceeded to their new country, it was Grassalkovich whom Maria Theresa charged to protect them. She described them, in her letter,

as the children of His Excellency: "quas excellentræ Vestræ proles nominare dignitur majestas."[7] This might have been no more than courtesy with no deep meaning. Grassalkovich responded by giving the Governor and Archduchess Maria Christina the use of his palace and it is in a letter acknowledging this compliment that Maria Theresa permitted Puchler to write: "It is no doubt no secret that Her Majesty is very much pleased that Your Excellency Grassalkovich has received Her Majesty's and Your Excellency's mutual (*gemeinsame*) children in your palace."

Historians of the past have always avoided any insinuation against Maria Theresa's good name. Her biographers have usually been too worshipful to permit her any delinquency. But it is not inconsistent with Maria Theresa's piety that she should have sought Grassalkovich's sympathy in the lonely experience of Pressburg, nor inconsistent with her greatness to suppose that she was human enough to encourage and reward her Chancellor, at a time when Francis had already proved himself to be a philanderer. Also, considering the hypocrisy of the age in which she lived, it is not difficult to believe that she might have compromised with her conscience, especially as her religious training by the Jesuits was not averse to sacrificing the means to accomplish the end. Also many rumours in Hungary might make one inclined to believe the truth of this accusation; indeed, such rumours refer not only to Grassalkovich, but also to Bessenyei, for which no sufficient foundation has yet been discovered. It was only in her advancing years that she resorted to great piety, which might be taken as an added proof of her remorse. However this may be, there is not yet sufficient proof to establish the hypothesis as fact.

Before the end of her reign Maria Theresa was able to give the Hungarians great satisfaction by uniting the south-

ern provinces to the parent Kingdom.[8] They had been separated by her ancestors and the division had always been a source of discontent among her people. The reunion was arranged when her son-in-law was Governor of Hungary, and Maria Theresa described her pleasure in a letter to him. "Today is a great day for Hungary," she said. "I am a good Hungarian. My heart is full of gratitude for this nation. Now I can say I have finished my work and that I am preparing myself for my long rest."[9]

CHAPTER XXIII

Frederick rises once more: the beginning of the Seven Years' War. Invasion of Saxony. Fall of Dresden. Battle of Lobositz. Saxons surrender at Pirna. Second Treaty of Versailles. Defeat of Prussians at Kolin

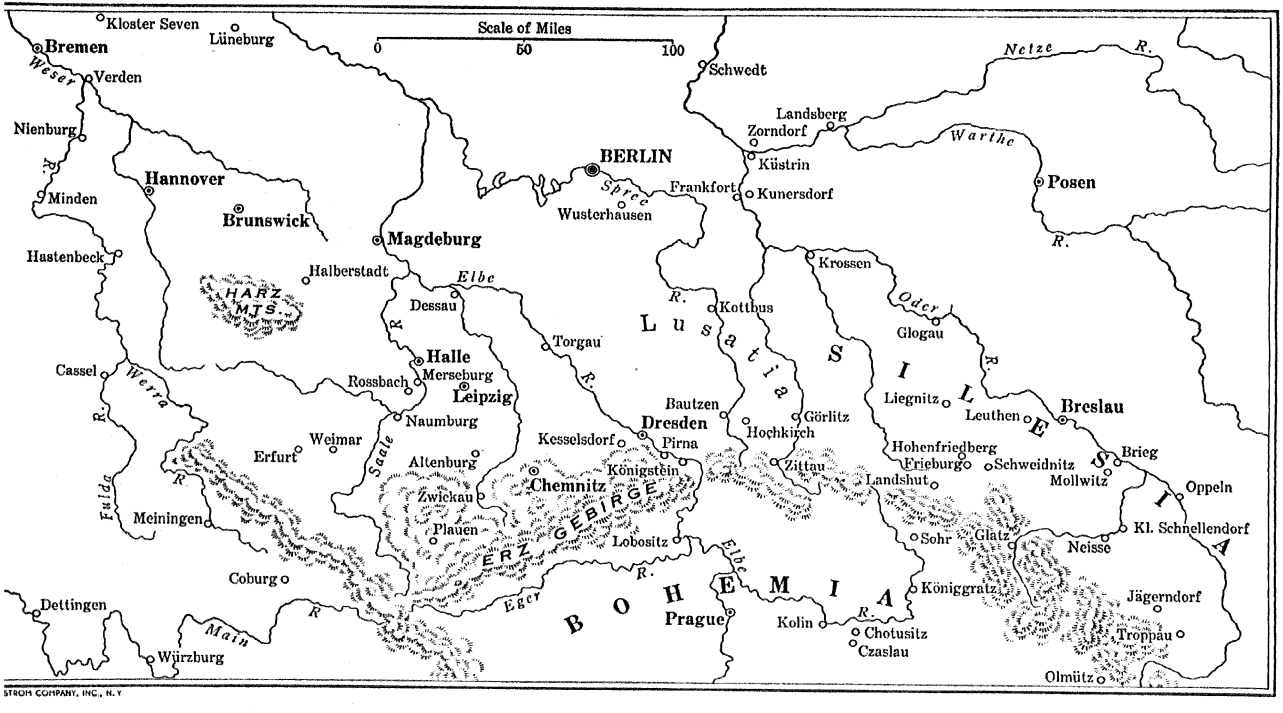
ALTHOUGH MARIA THERESA consoled herself in middle age with prayers, and although she wrote to so many of her friends of the blessed time when she would be free of the burdens of life, she did not always avoid the opportunity of increasing those burdens for others. She was Habsburg enough to wish her people to die for their country, but she was not always Christian enough to abide in peace and teach them to live for it. If her disillusioned spirit turned more and more to religion, it was still the narrow and bigoted form of Roman Catholicism, which looked upon the frontiers of the Catholic countries as the frontiers of Christendom. There her prayers ended.

The moment that Maria Theresa realized the security which came to her through her treaty with France, she turned to the old and passionate hate of her life. The treaty

was to be used, not for the prosperity of her people or for the succouring of life, but for the extermination of her enemy. Now, in her mind, she was no less a plunderer than Frederick. The wronged young queen of the forties was dead; in 1756 Maria Theresa was different from Frederick in her desire for battle only in that she was self-deceived; she was still able to believe that high purposes were being served by sacrificing life and arresting progress in the cause of her own enmity.

A magnificent diplomatic victory for Austria was instigated by Kaunitz when he induced France to sign the First Treaty of Versailles. Maria Theresa was no longer obliged to use her troops to defend the Netherlands against the French. More than this, her new ally was obliged to support her with soldiers against Frederick and there was every hope of help from Elizabeth of Russia. Kaunitz admits that Maria Theresa did not show enthusiasm for his plans at first, but it is true that she deteriorated under his influence. She loaned herself to what was "nefarious conspiracy, sinking to prevarication, excusing herself by throwing over her actions a futile veil of religion."[1]

Many of the changes which came to the map of Europe in the two hundred years following the Treaty of Versailles can be traced to 1756; the alarming, growing power of Prussia, the comparative humiliation of France, the elevation of England to the head of a colonial Empire, and the mutilation and impoverishment of Austria.[2] Maria Theresa was not able or obliged to see so far, in 1756. When the powers realized the full strength of what had been let loose upon them by the Treaties of Westminster and Versailles, alarm spread over Europe and preparations were made for defence and attack. In May 1756 England declared war on France. On June 17 Frederick warned his reservists to be ready for mobilization. Two days afterwards he received



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CENTRAL GERMANY

Illustrating the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War.

reports of the advance of Russian troops towards their frontier.

In fact, Frederick the Great became the aggressor in the war that followed and he has usually been judged as the culprit. But he could do little else when he heard of the preparations being made against him. On July 18 he instructed his Envoy in Vienna to seek an audience with the Empress to ask for a frank explanation of her motives. He demanded of the Empress whether "her army was designed for an attack" against him. Maria Theresa answered: "The critical state of affairs has led me to think these measures necessary, which I am taking for my own safety and for the defence of my allies. They have no object beyond this and are intended to injure no one."

Frederick was not soothed by this ambiguous answer. He ordered his Envoy to repeat the question. "I must know whether we are at peace or at war. Of that the Empress is arbiter. I cannot, however, put up with an oracular answer. If such is given me, the Empress is answerable for the consequences." [3]

Kaunitz gave the Emperor's Envoy Austria's reply. It was impossible, he said, to answer such a document without expressions of unseemly indignation. However, the Empress was willing to declare that the news of an offensive treaty between herself and Russia against Prussia was false.

Maria Theresa resigned herself to Kaunitz's shady diplomacy now. All that she was waiting for was news from France of what subsidies were forthcoming, before concluding the Russian treaty, the existence of which was denied to Frederick.

The King of Prussia acted, as usual, in an unexpected fashion. He began the Seven Years' War in August 1756 by ordering his troops to march towards Saxony. This was a double surprise for Austria.[4] Kaunitz's secret plans were

formulated in anticipation of a direct invasion of Bohemia. Frederick was not without justification. France and Austria had combined in a conspiracy against him. They had obtained the help of Russia and it was no secret that all these plans, made with the knowledge of the King of Saxony, were intended to dismember the Prussian states and divide them between Maria Theresa and her allies. Although Frederick was the great schemer of his time, on this occasion he had some warrant [5] for stating that he was " forced to take up arms to oppose a conspiracy plotted against his Kingdom." [6]

On August 29 Frederick entered Saxony with his soldiers. He tried to console the King of Saxony for this invasion with an extraordinary letter in which he said that he had " no offensive designs " against him and that he did not invade Saxony " as an enemy, but solely for his own security." [7]

All that the King of Saxony could do was to concentrate his army of 20,000 men and wait for the help which Austria would send him. His soldiers made their stand at Pirna, south of Dresden. This time Frederick took the field with a greater army than ever. The short period of peace had not been wasted. He crossed into Saxony with 67,000 men. There were 27,000 men in Silesia, under Schwerin, ready to join him in the campaign in Bohemia. There were 30,000 more Prussian soldiers in Pomerania and East Prussia and 30,000 in garrison. Frederick the Great now commanded an army of 154,000 men, with 122 heavy guns.

Austria had done little in comparison with this during the interim of peace. She suffered the penalties of her scattered control, her haphazard government, and her casual nature. Some of her soldiers were still in the Netherlands and others in Italy. The Hungarians were less anxious to support Maria Theresa because they had found her promises empty. In a crisis she had appealed to them, but when war was over, she

had not shown more than passing interest in their kingdom. The army which she sent to support the Saxons against Frederick was outnumbered by the enemy and it was demoralized by lack of discipline, immobility, and insufficient guns.

Frederick reassured the King of Saxony. If fortune favoured him, he said, the Saxons would be "amply compensated for everything." He would "take as much thought" for the interests of the King of Saxony as for his own.[8] The King of Saxony did not accept this offer, which would have made him an accomplice against Maria Theresa's lands in Bohemia. He retired into Poland and reluctantly gave Frederick a free passage to Bohemia.[9]

In the meantime Austria's army had moved north, under Field Marshal Browne. When they met, Frederick had already crossed the border into Bohemia, having taken Dresden on the way, and the first engagement of the long war took place at Lobositz, on Bohemian territory. The battle began in a thick mist, and when this cleared, Frederick saw the full force and strength of his enemy. The Austrians had planned their strategy as of old. They took up a defensive position from which they could retreat with ease. Browne was in such a strong position that Frederick decided that the losses he would sustain would be out of all proportion to the advantage. He stopped the battle, and the Austrians retreated to the far side of the Eger.

Frederick now prepared for the winter. It was already October and his next offensive must wait until the spring. As he returned to prepare his plans, in Silesia, he compelled the Saxon army to surrender at Pirna. Military historians have criticized Frederick's failure to take Pirna before. Here the Elector of Saxony had gathered his army together, in what was a strongly defended position. Napoleon afterwards claimed that if Frederick had taken Pirna on the way

to Bohemia, in four days he would have marched with a bigger army to Lobositz and perhaps have gained a decisive victory over Browne and his Austrian army. Norwood Young, the biographer of Frederick the Great, goes so far as to state that Frederick's failure to take Pirna "was the most serious mistake in all his military career." [10] But when Pirna fell, he took a large number of prisoners and added them to his army. Thus reinforced, Frederick retired from Bohemia across Saxony and set up his army winter quarters in Silesia. The King of Saxony had to spend the winter in Poland, with the bitter knowledge that Frederick was, in the meantime, making himself comfortable in his own capital, Dresden.

Frederick improved the winter by a wicked piece of malice. The Queen of Saxony had remained in Dresden, to watch her King's interests. Frederick intimidated her so far as to force her to yield up her husband's papers. Among these Frederick discovered or invented all the evidence he needed. He emphasized the fact that he found evidence of Saxony's treachery, of the Elector's part in the plot to destroy Prussia. Frederick no doubt hoped to calm the indignation of the rest of the world over his invasion of Saxony with this evidence, but it was not enough to achieve his object.

While the armies prepared themselves for the conflicts of the spring of 1757, the powers deliberated. Jealousy and royal greed were let loose once more. Maria Theresa found her new ally uncomfortably willing, at first, to support her. She had stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles that in the event of Frederick attacking her, France should strengthen her with a force of 40,000 men. France wished to do more, but not along the lines that would best help Austria. She wished to send a large army to advance through Hanover and attack Prussia on the west. Her own growth was natu-

rally more interesting to her than mere support of Maria Theresa's cause in central Europe.

Kaunitz was faced with a new problem with this announcement from France. It was not until May of the new year that France and Austria agreed on the division of responsibilities and spoils. The agreement, framed as the Second Treaty of Versailles, was a complete triumph for Kaunitz. He had used almost hypnotic power over the French by inducing them to do what he wished, against their own interests. They were to supply Austria with 105,000 troops and to pay an annual subsidy of 12,000,000 florins.[11] If their battles were successful, Silesia and Glatz were to be returned to Austria, Magdeburg was to go to Saxony, Pomerania to Sweden, Cleves to the Elector Palatine, and Guelderland to Holland. Thus Frederick's enemies planned the division of his lands. The last important clause was that in exchange for Parma, Austria was to give Don Philip the Austrian Netherlands, excepting Ostend and Ypres, which were to go to France.

On paper, Kaunitz's schemes were now complete. Frederick was surrounded by enemies. Russia had accepted the First Treaty of Versailles in January; Sweden had joined Austria and France in March, in the hope of securing Pomerania; Saxony was stirred to bitterness by Frederick's invasion in October; and France, with a daughter of the Elector of Saxony married to the Dauphin,[12] was incensed over the humiliation of the Elector, and all the more passionate in its wish to punish Frederick. This final reversal of French policy still appears to be so mad an act of diplomacy that one is left marvelling at Kaunitz's powers of persuasion and at the weakness of Louis XV. Had France withheld her forces to combat England in the struggle for colonies instead of clinging to the quarrels of Europe, she would have escaped the act of "imbecile treason against herself, the like of which

hardly exists in history." [13] France's error was all the more tragic for her because there were men in France who wished to concentrate on the colonial struggle. D'Argenson, the chief of these, had been deprived of office because Madame de Pompadour preferred the hope of French aggrandizement in Europe to increase of territory in the new countries. Romantic historians like to see Maria Theresa standing in a light of martyrdom and heroism, but it is well to remember the evil results of Kaunitz's policy, to which the Empress agreed. His bitter words: "With God's help we will bring so many enemies on the back of the insolent King of Prussia that he must succumb," [14] were not the basis upon which Austria could build a great future. The bitterness between north and south, the violent difference in the aims of Lutheran Prussia and Catholic Austria were fed more by the Treaties of Versailles than by any other force in two centuries. It was not easy for Maria Theresa or for Kaunitz to realize that the little northern Kingdom, for which Maria Theresa's father had helped to gain the dignity of a royal crown, could possibly defy the ambitions and strength of the three greatest powers in Europe. Yet Frederick rose with his armies once more, when the spring came, to pursue this object.

It is a significant if a somewhat grimly romantic fact that Frederick's greatest enemies were all women. Elizabeth of Russia hated him with an intensity only less than that felt by Maria Theresa. In France Madame de Pompadour loathed him with an implacable resentment which, touchily sensitive to her own humble origin, could not rest content with less than his downfall. Their emotion was personal and feminine and had one dominant source in injured vanity. Frederick and the wits of his court had made these ladies victims of scurrilous legends that circulated through Europe. Maria Theresa's abhorrence of Frederick was almost

obsessive. Throughout her life she conceived him only as a crowned robber, a deceitful and unprincipled politician, recognizing no social or religious scruples, a hypocrite sufficiently persuasive to win credulity for the noble motives with which he disguised his villainies. She was too clever to underestimate his capacities. But she never really understood the diabolical power of his nature, and the woman of fine feeling may well have resented in him, most profoundly of all, the hater of her sex.

In this record it is the figure of Maria Theresa which must occupy central place. But this place is not in accord with the proportions of the Seven Years' War. In the Wars of Succession, Maria Theresa had naturally been the chief figure, but in the war which had already opened with Frederick's invasion of Saxony, other giants were to emerge, and, compared with them, Maria Theresa was not to be of great importance. The theatre of the war was to become tremendous. All Maria Theresa's lands were to be involved, the Netherlands, the Rhine, Italy, the coasts of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, the seas of India, and even the St. Lawrence River, in Canada. One is tempted to melodramatic bitterness over the ruthless and selfish way the dogs of war were set free. A hundred undercurrents of power and ambition were to meet and struggle, but Maria Theresa was not equipped intellectually or in spirit to comprehend all of these. She had not travelled, and although she had so many enemies, she had never met them. Frederick was a horror to her, but she never saw him face to face. She fed upon her prejudices rather than upon her knowledge and, in the seven years of battle before her, she did not extend her vision. She did not see the issues beyond those of her girlhood. She wished to recover Silesia and Glatz and to exterminate Frederick. So far as her mind and character were concerned, the new war taught her little. She did not

wrestle with what was happening in the world and try to comprehend the war in relation to sovereign powers, duties of government, and the development of human nature. She turned, with feminine resignation, to her prayers.

In the previous year, when news had come of Frederick's invasion of Saxony, Maria Theresa had been hunting with her husband. It was a sad occasion for her. Maria Theresa never liked blood sports, and very often birds were merely driven and not shot, to pander to her distaste. This time she had faced the rigours of hunting because she believed Francis to be engaged upon an amorous escapade. She had been driven to the ignominious position of following him, to allay her jealousy. It was in such a state of mind that the news of Frederick's invasion had been brought to her. Frederick was never hampered by such disturbing emotions as love and jealousy, and the government of his country doubtless profited thereby. Maria Theresa had hurried back to Vienna, to assume the confusing load waiting there for her.

In the spring of 1757, when the war opened once more with Frederick's second invasion of Bohemia, Maria Theresa was in Vienna. So that the chronological sequence of events may not be confused by the alternate records of battles and treaties, it is important to remember that when Frederick invaded Bohemia in April, the second treaty between France and Austria had not been signed at Versailles. Frederick wisely assumed the role of aggressor once more. With all Europe opposed to him, the part of a defensive, waiting adversary would have been fatal. Frederick was often accused of being a coward after battle, even if he was unusually bold in beginning one. His retirement from his first battle against the Austrians at Mollwitz was not forgotten, and in 1756 he had once more left the field before the end. "I do not want to be taken prisoner," [15] he had said, leaving the battle to his officers. His boldness was restored by April 18, 1757,

when Frederick led his troops across the Saxon border into Bohemia and towards Prague.

Again the Austrians marched under tragic conditions. Maria Theresa had listened to persuasion from Francis, and Charles of Lorraine was placed at the head of the army. Charles of Lorraine, and his more skilful junior, Browne, were quartered in Prague when Frederick began his action on May 5. Frederick crossed the Moldau at Selx, one hour's march from Prague. He was facing the Austrian front during this time, and once again Charles of Lorraine threw away his opportunity. His dismal instinct to hesitate made him sacrifice the advantage of his position, and Frederick proceeded. Early in the morning of the 5th, Frederick's cavalry swept in and harried the Austrians into flight. Schwerin was killed while he was stirring his troops to fresh ardour, but the Austrians fared even worse and they were robbed of the poor leadership they already possessed. Browne, one of Maria Theresa's best generals, was killed, and the hapless Charles was forced to leave the battlefield with cramp. The Austrians were beaten back into Prague, having lost 9,000 of their 61,000 men. The Prussians had lost more men, but they were compensated by a big haul of prisoners. The story of Frederick's victory soon swept across Europe, and we have the record of a detached letter-writer in London, Horace Walpole, who wrote to a friend "on the stroke of eleven" on the evening of May 19, saying: "I have but time to tell you that the King of Prussia has gained the greatest victory that ever was, except the Archangel Michael's. King Frederick has only demolished the dragoness." The "dragoness" was in Vienna, alarmed, but still courageous, trying to plan the relief of Prague.

Frederick's plan now was to take the city itself and he wrote with understandable cynicism to the Duke of Brunswick: "Only a bombardment can help us; it will depend

upon the chance whether some bombs fall upon what remains of their stores and sets them on fire." [16] For more than twenty days Frederick waited outside the city walls for his siege guns to arrive, and when they came he bombarded the Austrians and their stronghold mercilessly.

The besieged Austrians and the townspeople of Prague suffered severely during the bombardment. The cathedral was injured and many hundreds of houses were destroyed. Maria Theresa's courage brought her forcibly into the picture; once more she wrote letters of encouragement to her generals, as she had done during the previous war. She succeeded in smuggling a letter into Prague reminding her soldiers of Belleisle and of his escape from a similar trap. She wrote: "I cannot impress too strongly on your mind that my army will incur an everlasting disgrace should it not effect what the French, in the last war, performed with far inferior numbers."

Field Marshal Daun was with his army in Bohemia, and with him lay Austria's only chance of ousting Frederick from his position at the gates of Prague. She wrote to him also, as he set out to join her besieged army, begging him not to waver. She had always been hampered by weak and hesitating generals and she had been reminded, once more, of Charles's fatal diffidence in battle. She begged Daun to attack and not to wait.[17] If he succeeded, she said that she would be grateful forever; if he failed, there would be no reproach. Daun was made of stouter stuff than Charles, and even Frederick admitted his strength as a soldier.[18] In his history of the Seven Years' War, the King of Prussia described Daun as "a great General." Frederick was to become aware of Daun's capacity through bitter experience.

When Frederick was advised of Daun's advance towards Prague, he withdrew some of his soldiers to intercept the Austrians on the way. The armies met near Kolin. The

COUNT LEOPOLD DAUN, FIELD MARSHAL AND COMMANDER OF THE IMPERIAL FORCES

after an etching in the Albertina Gallery, Vienna

Austrians had taken up their position on the heights overlooking the Imperial highway to Kolin. Here Frederick attacked them, on June 18. Success seemed to favour the Prussians for the first part of the battle, and they stood up against the superior artillery of the enemy.[19] But this time Frederick's skilful flank attack failed and through the foolishness of two of his generals, the superior numbers of the Austrians, and their increased efficiency, Frederick was defeated. Daun lost 9,000 men, but more than 13,000 Prussians had been killed. The Austrians were compensated for their losses by prisoners and the capture of valuable pieces of artillery.

Frederick rode back to Prague through the night and arrived at his base almost dead from exhaustion after thirty-six hours in the saddle.[20] It is said that when he afterwards met the Guards Battalion, he burst into tears.[21]

The record of Frederick's first reaction to his defeat is surprising. He wrote as Maria Theresa always wrote, when she sickened of the world. "If I had been killed at Kolin," he complained, "I should be in a port where I should have no more tempests to face. I must navigate still on this tempestuous sea, until a small corner of earth gives me the boon that I have not been able to find in this world."

This self-pity did not survive for very long. Frederick's craftiness and boldness did not embrace melancholy, and when he was forced to retire from his position before Prague, he carried the retreat off in the grand manner. He had now to leave Bohemia and to realize that all his invasion of Saxony and his losses at Kolin had availed him nothing. He wrote of his withdrawal to Prince Maurice of Dessau: "I decamped from Prague today with drums and fifes in the most defiant attitude." "My heart is lacerated," he added, "but I am not cast down and shall seek the very first opportunity of obliterating this reverse." [22]

CHAPTER XXIV

Daun's triumph. Campaigns of 1757. The Austrians come to Berlin, but return. French defeat at Rossbach. Battle of Leuthen

THE BUOYANT SPIRIT OF VIENNA responded quickly to the news of the victory at Kolin. At seven o'clock one morning a young officer drove down the road from Vienna to Schönbrunn, accompanied by twenty postilions. No messenger had ever turned into the great courtyard of the palace with better news. A little later in the morning General Benedict arrived at Schönbrunn with twenty-two flags and enemy standards as booty to be placed at the feet of his Empress.

Maria Theresa was not used to victory. If bitterness and disappointment were showing in her nature as she grew older, there was reason enough. But on this wonderful June morning there was no room for anxiety; the Empress was able to enjoy her victory with feminine eagerness and her first thoughts were of congratulation and thankfulness. Half-dressed, she went to her ladies-in-waiting with tears in her eyes and embraced one of them. Her reforms had not

been in vain, and with the help of the ministers whom she had found for herself, she now ruled a more efficient and valiant people than she had inherited from her father.

Daun was the saviour of the Habsburgs, for the moment, and he became the hero of Vienna within an hour. Maria Theresa went herself to Countess Daun, to tell her of her husband's achievement. Then she wrote to her new, illustrious General, with her own hand: [1] "The monarchy thanks you for its preservation, I for my existence. God preserve you long, for me, in the service of the State, the army, and my person, as my best, truest, and good friend." [2] Maria Theresa created a new order to celebrate the valour of her soldiers, and the first Master of the Order of Maria Theresa was, of course, Daun.

On this occasion, we are told, "sumptuous feasts were given . . . and presents distributed; the officers were rewarded a month's pay, and the subalterns and common soldiers were gratified with donations." [3] During the Seven Years' War, far more than in the Silesian War, Maria Theresa concerned herself about plans and equipment. From the very beginning of hostilities she engaged herself in every detail of the complex machinery of warfare. Observation of the working out of her administrative reforms had given her an opportunity to become familiar with aspects of the life of the common people of which she had been previously ignorant. Perhaps as the result of this, she now demonstrated an unflagging interest in the comfort and welfare of her soldiers and found time to supervise personally such matters as the accommodation of recruits, the issue of warm blankets, and the provision of suitable rations.[4] She was tireless, too, in her mastery of the technical problems of military organization and, notably after the disastrous battle of Leuthen, undertook personal responsibility for securing the extensive new equipment required by the army. In the

planning of campaigns and field operations, she not only played a constantly active role, but frequently herself overruled the less intrepid projects of her military advisers and substituted tactics and strategy of her own invention. As in the previous wars, she maintained an active correspondence with her generals in the field, strengthening their morale by perpetually inciting them to fresh and heroic efforts. Even in the highly difficult problems of revenue and finance, she often took the initiative, devising ways of raising money when to do so seemed an impossible achievement. Thus, for example, she inaugurated a public subscription and exercised pressure upon her officials to bring their silver to the mint. But, unsparing of others, she did not spare herself personally, and early in the war pawned all her jewels in order to raise necessary funds. Her record during the war displays a consistent assumption of leadership and a deep sense of personal obligation for all the various phases of its successful prosecution.

While Vienna was thanking God for the triumph of Daun at Kolin, Frederick was already planning to regain what he had lost. Although his army had been almost halved by defeat, he gathered his forces together and marched west, to stem the advance of the French army which was coming to assist Maria Theresa.

Now that the Austrians had proved themselves a match for Prussia, all her allies were astir. Sweden planned to sweep into Pomerania and the French were to invade Hanover in July. Every month, until October, Frederick was to be intimidated by some new sign of destruction. England, his only ally, was too busy fighting for her colonial territory in Canada to give Frederick the help she promised to him in the Treaty of Westminster. If he merited the description of wolf, which was given to him at that time, the wolf certainly fought alone.

Frederick's enemies succeeded in all their plans during the first months of 1757. As the summer passed, each of Maria Theresa's allies helped her in her wild dream for the destruction of Prussia. In August the Russians entered Prussia and took Memel. On the 13th, they gained another victory at Gross-Jägersdorf. Then they withdrew without exploiting their success. In September the Swedes carried out their plan of invading Pomerania, and in October Austria made an impudent attack with a small force under the Hungarian General Hadick. He moved north through Silesia and came to the outskirts of Berlin on October 16.

The move was picturesque but imprudent. Hadick was not supported in this attack upon Frederick's very doorstep and, although he extracted a ransom of thirty thousand pounds from Berlin, he was obliged to retire, for fear of being destroyed while he was isolated from the main army. Frederick was appalled by Hadick's impudence. "We must take these people, living or dead," [5] he said.

The most important inroad upon Frederick's territory was the entrance of the French into Hanover. This was accomplished so effectively that in September the French gained a convention permitting them to use Hanover as a way towards Prussia.

When one sifts the news of the battles, little fresh credit comes to Austria, beyond her feat of arms at Kolin. Two and a half months had passed since the memorable day of Frederick's defeat, but the Austrians had not done anything more of value. "Time flies," Kaunitz wrote to Daun, hoping to urge him on. But the Austrian soldiers prospered on inactivity, it seemed. Kaunitz was distressed, not for lack of plans, which he wove admirably, but for lack of gold. "Half the campaign is yet to come," he wrote, "but we do not know where to get the money. Everything demands money. Where will the 150,000 French troops and the

troops of the Reich, where will many of our own soldiers find winter quarters if a garrison is not prepared? "

Frederick was not yet planning his revenge upon the Austrians. He turned his attention to the French, who had already cleared their way into Hanover and Brunswick, towards his lands. "If the French get to Magdeburg," he said, "I am lost." [6] Austria was left to refresh her army, to find money, and to replenish her stores and brood over her next attempt to take Silesia. Frederick marched into Saxony and defeated the French army at Rossbach, so severely that they retired and abandoned their position. This was one of Frederick's great battles, and its result was so definite that the French ceased to be a major terror to him for the rest of the war.

One of the interesting aspects of the defeat of the French was its effect upon the hopes of England. The weaker France was in Europe, the less she would be able to defend herself in Canada. England realized that she might win her colonies on the battlefields of Europe.

But these events obliterate Maria Theresa from our view. The triumph of Kolin was soon to be forgotten and the year was to end with a torrent of disasters. Elizabeth of Russia fell ill and, relying upon her son's friendliness for Prussia, her General retreated with his army and thus weakened the Swedes so that they lost all that they had gained in Pomerania. England promised her aid to Prussia. Frederick was free now for his deadly attack upon the Austrians and, with no fear of the French menacing him from the rear, he crossed to Silesia. But before he met the Austrians and swept them into pandemonium with the strength of his attack, Maria Theresa was to enjoy a brief hour of triumph.

At her personal instigation and over the opposition of some of her generals, Charles of Lorraine successfully besieged the Fortress of Schweidnitz. Encouraged by this vic-

tory, Maria Theresa urged him to station his army in front of Breslau and attack the city before Frederick could summon the necessary troops for its defence. The council of war was much opposed to such action, but Maria Theresa insisted, and in accordance with her wishes the attack was undertaken. It lasted for two days, then the city surrendered. The joy of Maria Theresa knew no bounds. She foresaw herself wholly victorious in Silesia. A firm belief in a higher justice convinced her that she would eventually regain all her former territory and that a divine power would punish the offender. But her dream was shortlived.

With characteristic vigour and audacity Frederick undertook to convert defeat into victory. He recaptured Breslau, after a battle which ended in appalling massacre of his enemy. This battle at Leuthen is considered by authorities to be one of the most important in Frederick's career. He wrote to his sister, after it was over: "I venture to give you the assurance that this battle will give us a peace." And he wrote to Prince Henry: "There is every reason to expect from the demoralization of the Austrians that we shall have peace in spring." [7]

Frederick's victory at Rossbach against the combined French forces under Soubise and the Imperial army under Hildburghausen, together with his stupendous success at Leuthen, revealed him as one of the greatest strategists of history. At Leuthen he won a crushing victory. A vastly superior and, until then, victorious army was smashed to pieces – only a remnant left. Napoleon considered Leuthen a masterpiece of military art. Frederick had succeeded in changing Maria Theresa from a triumphant to a defeated queen. All her hopes were dashed just when they were at their height.

When news of the disaster reached Vienna, both ministers and people sought for a culprit, and their choice rightly fell

on Charles of Lorraine. Maria Theresa had persisted in his command for too long and, with stubbornness which bordered on stupidity, she had always heeded the entreaties of her husband on behalf of his brother rather than the needs of her army and her duty to her soldiers. It cannot be said in their defence that Francis and Maria Theresa still believed in their brother. There are many letters to show how they tried to stir him from his lethargy; only a few months before, Francis had written to him, while he was advancing into Silesia: "I tremble if they win, and you can yourself judge the stir which the world will make if this little Prussian army ever again gives you the slip, after it has so often been near to you without your being able to attack."

Even when Daun had proved himself at Kolin, Maria Theresa had still consented to leave Charles at the head of the army. Now the pressure was too great. Charles was the butt of jokes and derisive verses in the streets of Vienna, and France demanded a change of command. Consequently, during the winter, while she was trying to mend her broken army, to forget the disgrace and disaster of Leuthen, and to refresh herself for the trials of the new year, Maria Theresa had to sink her family stubbornness, and consent to the change. Charles was diminished in power and was sent back to the Netherlands.

It was Daun who prepared to lead her soldiers against Frederick in the campaigns of the coming year. But Daun was not to act alone. There was another, younger General who was to rise to fame. This was Gideon Laudon, a soldier of fortune, with the stubbornness of Scottish blood and none of the fickleness of the south. Laudon had joined Maria Theresa's army thirteen years before, having previously offered his services to Frederick of Prussia, who had rejected them with an insulting remark. There was irony in this rejection, for Laudon was destined to become the agent of

GIDEON ERNEST BARON LAUDON

after a painting by Caspar

Frederick's most signal defeats. He was of Scotch parentage, but had been born in Russia and had there been trained as a soldier. A rough character, ungainly in appearance, he was extraordinarily capable and brilliantly fitted to command the wild and reckless Croatian cavalry with whom he scored his first notable successes. Awkward at court and unhappy there, despite Maria Theresa's regard for him, he was swift, intrepid, and certain in the field. He was to become one of the greatest generals of Maria Theresa's reign. Once more the fates were kind to her with the men she needed in her entourage. Her most brilliant soldier was sent to her, but not until the eleventh hour. General Lacy, also, who played an important part in the campaign in Bohemia, was associated with Daun and Laudon in many of the following engagements.

CHAPTER XXV

The campaigns of 1758. The Prussians take Schweidnitz. Vienna in danger. Maria Theresa's courage. Laudon's triumph at Olmütz. The Russians at Zorndorf and Züllichau. The Austrian victory at Kunersdorf

FREDERICK THE GREAT was too sanguine when he imagined that Leuthen would end the war. He was encouraged in his view during the winter when France made shy overtures for peace, through his sister. He answered France, through her: "My treaty with England is of a nature which does not permit a separate peace; it is now less than ever proper for me to negotiate secretly."[1] Frederick's ethics on such occasions are always amusing. After this high-minded declaration he added that he would like the French to let him

know their way of thinking from time to time in case he might wish to "arrange" for himself "a way out, in case of some great misfortune." [2]

The scorn of Madame de Pompadour was too strong to admit any such peaceful negotiations. "I hate the victor more than ever," she said. "Let us make good preparations, let us pulverize the Attila of the North. . . ." [3] But Madame de Pompadour's vehemence was not shared by the members of her master's court. The Foreign Minister Abbé de Bernis wrote dismally to the French Ambassador in Vienna of the fact that the Austrians had lost three-fourths of their troops and officers. "If I could see generals fit to command our armies, and a good military council in Vienna and Versailles, I would not, in spite of our errors and common misfortunes, give up the game. But as I can hope for no change in this respect, and time is pressing, I give my voice for peace. If the Austrian court will let us negotiate, or negotiate with us, we may get ourselves honourably out of our difficulty. Meanwhile let us arm; it is the first step to peace." [4]

It was Kaunitz's will, and the enmity of the three women, that decided that the war should go on. Madame de Pompadour was adamant. Maria Theresa's distaste for the part she had to play with Elizabeth of Russia and Madame de Pompadour cannot be gauged, for she made no written complaint. But her violent pride and her stolid morality must have been bruised by the realization that she was bracketed with the licentious Elizabeth and the courtesan de Pompadour in the campaign to destroy Frederick. More and more she leaned on Kaunitz. He scorned France's weak suggestion of peace, he demanded her fulfilment of the promises made in the Treaty of Versailles, and he bolstered up Maria Theresa's failing will. But Maria Theresa was depressed over the spirit of France as an ally now, and when the time for reopening

hostilities came, she complained: "I am of the opinion that we must act as though there were no longer any French allies. We will no longer allow our officers to perish for their sake. Our only help lies in Russia." [5]

While Austria was reviving her energy and reorganizing her army, Frederick was also concerned over finances and recruits. Again he showed the odd contradiction of his nature when he wrote to his sister of the ugliness of war. "What a sacrifice of men! What a shocking butchery! I shudder to think of it." But he added: "Whatever one's feelings, one must steel one's heart and prepare oneself for the murder and the carnage. . . ." He set about gathering more soldiers from Silesia, Pomerania, and Saxony and, when the spring came, he was once more able to enter the field with 140,000 men. There was an added encouragement for him as he prepared for new battles. In the previous year the British had not been able to help him. This year he was to have the support of 100,000 men, paid for out of the English treasury. This assistance nullified any opposition he might expect from France, and it is usually agreed that the help of England saved Frederick in 1758 and made his victories possible.

When the war began once more, in April, Vienna came nearer to destruction than ever before during Maria Theresa's reign. Daun, now in supreme command of the Austrian army, had gathered his troops into Bohemia, expecting that Frederick would attack him there. Again the Prussians did what was not expected. Instead of marching towards Bohemia, Frederick retook Schweidnitz on April 16 and then turned towards Olmütz, one hundred and forty miles from Vienna. Again it was Maria Theresa's stubborn defiance that overcame the fears of those about her. The city was harassed and her ministers were anxious. They wished Maria Theresa to leave the palace and go to Graz. "My

situation is cruel," she wrote to Hildburghausen. "Pity me! God alone can help me." [6]

How ridiculous it seemed that she had entered the war to gain Silesia and now was at the point of losing the core of her Empire! But she would not leave Vienna. She answered: "The court shall remain until the last extremity and the retreat shall not be undertaken until the enemy is really at hand."

When the French Ambassador entreated her, she said that she would defend herself to the utmost and would retire from town to town until the last Russian village. The Ambassador then asked her what she would do if she were driven to the utmost. She answered: "I would send the Prussian King a challenge, that he should fetch me in a post wagon, with postilions, powder, and lead, where we can decide our quarrel." [7]

Maria Theresa was saved from these distressing scenes of her imagination by Laudon. She had gone so far as to write to the Crown Princess of Saxony: "We will meet the Prussians as well as we can. And if we have no army here, we will arm ourselves with axes and bows and arrows, all women, as well as men, to force them out." Laudon attacked the convoy of 4,000 wagons which was bringing the supplies to Frederick's army. The Prussians were forced to blow up their wagons to prevent them from being captured by the Austrians. Frederick was dependent upon this convoy for the provisioning of his army and for gunpowder and cannon-balls, and the loss was so disastrous that he was obliged to abandon his siege of Olmütz. His retirement into Bohemia, where he planned to make a further attempt on Vienna, was an illustration of his skill and one more revelation of the fatal slowness of the Austrians. With a siege train, 2,000 wounded, occupying 4,000 wagons, and making a marching line of forty miles, Frederick moved his army

back into Bohemia, giving Daun a wonderful opportunity for attack. But Daun was already cursed by the caution of Maria Theresa's other generals and he did no more than drive Frederick, without ever exploiting the great chance which was given to him.

Maria Theresa felt greatly indebted to her generals, Daun and Laudon, as she had once been to Khevenhüller. These two generals differed in their fields of usefulness; Laudon was more a corps General, such as Ney and Murat in the army of Napoleon, while Daun was a great tactician and leader whom one could compare with Wellington. During all the manœuvres of the Seven Years' War a spirit of gaiety prevailed in the heart of the Empress. She performed her diplomatic duties energetically and devoted herself with thoroughness to the regulation of the military machine. Disappointment crept but slowly into her heart when she saw Russia's instability and the weakening support of France. It was only towards the end that she recognized the fact that the recovery of Silesia was but a chimera.

Maria Theresa seemed to shut her eyes to the affairs and disasters of the French army during this time. She still believed that all her hopes lay in Russia, and when news of the defeat of the French came in March, she made little comment, turning all her attention upon the advancing Russians, who had entered East Prussia in January. By August they had got as far as Cüstrin, in Brandenburg. It was one more "terrible time of trial" for Frederick. He wrote to Prince Henry: "But in spite of all that passes within me I put the best outward face on a bad business." He was nevertheless sustained by his old bravado as he approached another battle, this time against the Russians, whom he described as a "ragged crew." It was a strange army that came to fight in Elizabeth's name: slaves brought from the land,

sometimes so unwillingly that they had to be intimidated with handcuffs and irons. Again Frederick showed the same confusion between boldness and obsession over death. When he decided to attack the enemy, he wrote orders to his generals, to be followed in the event of his being shot dead. If the battle were won, the enemy was to be " followed with all vigour." No formal ceremonies were to be said over him, he was not to be cut open, and his body was to be taken quietly to Sans Souci and buried in the garden. But Frederick was to be spared for many more crafty enterprises.

On August 25, while it was yet dark, Frederick crossed the Mietzel with his army and marched to the plain of Zorndorf, where the Russians were waiting for him. About 40,000 men fought on either side, and from nine o'clock in the morning until dusk the undecided battle went on. They retired for the night, with heavy losses and more or less equal disaster. Next morning the Russians came into the field once more and Frederick made a rash effort to settle the debt of yesterday. With none of the self-protection which he had so often showed, he advanced with his cavalry escort and came near to being killed when he was dangerously close to the Russian lines. Frederick followed the retreating army, but he soon abandoned the attempt to rout them. The Russians may have been a " ragged crew," but they were stubborn and proof against Frederick's tactics as he followed them towards Poland.

He gave up the pursuit and turned his army once more. There was time enough before the winter to deal one blow more and recapture Dresden. Daun withdrew at the approach of Frederick, and the Prussians turned once more and made their way towards Silesia, where another branch of the Austrian army was besieging the fortresses of Kosel and

Neisse. This time Daun proved himself. He moved his army, which had been surrounding Dresden, and he carried out the manœuvre so well that he marched ahead of the King and prevented him from passing at Hochkirch. But even this did not relieve Maria Theresa's dejection. Frederick's bravado kept her continuously apprehensive. She regarded Hochkirch as far less important than Kolin.[8] The joy she formerly would have felt, she now failed to experience. In a letter written shortly afterwards she observed that even the battle of Hochkirch could not encourage her; and in another letter she made her forebodings explicit: "I fear the King of Prussia will revenge himself in every way. The example of Leuthen (after Breslau!) frightens me." The time of her resolute confidence had seemingly passed, to be succeeded by a long period of despondency and resignation. Though in spite of her personal discouragement she kept inciting and driving her generals to further efforts, she was sustained rather by a sense of duty than by any profound inward faith.

Daun had dealt the Prussians a considerable defeat, but Frederick's powers of revival were strong and he gathered his forces and continued the march towards the fortresses in Silesia. He saved them and turned even again towards Dresden, where he forced Daun to retire. The grim game of chess went on until the colder months drove the armies into winter quarters. It had been a wasted year, and neither Potsdam nor Vienna had reason for satisfaction. "Our campaign is ended," said the King of Prussia, "and neither side has gained anything except the loss of many brave soldiers."

The great changes for this year, 1758, were in worlds beyond Maria Theresa's interest. While she and Frederick held the balance of gain and power much as it had been at the beginning of the year, her ally France had suffered terrible humiliation in Canada. England's sea power was now

such that she could take and hold colonial possessions almost at will, and while Maria Theresa moaned over the weakness of her ally as a help in Europe, France was herself in great disorder. Her colonial trade was almost destroyed and the ascendancy of Britain as a colonizing and sea power was assured. Maria Theresa had little reason for happiness in the coming winter. She was too pessimistic now to be consoled by the victories at Olmütz, Zorndorf, and Hochkirch.

Frederick and Maria Theresa were both to pay heavily for these years of war. They were to become old and tired, and the signs were already upon them. Maria Theresa's correspondence took on a plaintive tone. Frederick yielded more melodramatically to his dejection. He fingered the gold box which always hung about his neck, by a chain, and said: "I have that about me with which I can end the play when it becomes insupportable. . . . These pills are of opium, the dose is amply sufficient to send one to the sombre shore whence there is no return." [9]

As the winter passed, Maria Theresa had causes for restoring her spirit. If Daun had fallen into the habits of her other generals, embracing caution beyond all reason, her other younger General, Laudon, was about to prove his greatness. V. Dunker in his Life of Laudon says: "He understood the life of the great war as no other. Keen in his undertakings, dauntless in carrying out his plans, he possessed besides this the shrewdness of the partisan. This enabled him to encounter even so powerful an opponent as King Frederick often and with success." Also, Maria Theresa's army had gained new strength. She had been able to send only 85,000 men to the field during 1758. In 1759 the army had grown to 120,000. There was further encouragement in the fact that Frederick's numbers had fallen from 150,000 to 110,000. It was to be his year of deepest depressions and he called it a "miracle of the House of Branden-

burg " that he survived at all. For the first time in the long story of his battles against Austria, Frederick was forced into defence. Now it was Austria and her allies who decided when and where they would attack. This sense of superiority seemed to embolden them. France was to be wholly engaged in a futile attack upon Hanover and in trying to hold what was left of her colonial pride. Austria and Russia were therefore left to grapple with Frederick's weakened army, with the support of Sweden and the army of the Holy Roman Empire, which was also strengthened in the meantime. It was late in the spring before the Russians had marched into the arena, but, from the beginning, this year's campaigns were blessed with success for the allies. Again the Russians invaded Brandenburg, and when their overpowering army met Frederick's 27,000 men at Züllichau, outnumbering them by 13,000, the butchery was horrible.

The allies were now on the road to complete victory, it seemed. Every good circumstance fell into their hands. After the success at Züllichau, the Russians swelled their strength with 20,000 Austrians and when they fought the Prussians, at the famous battle of Kunersdorf, August 1759, Frederick was broken under the worst defeat of his reign.

This was Laudon's battle; his cavalry charged the tired, disheartened Prussians who had suffered fifteen hours' exposure to the fierce August sun. If Frederick began his career with the stain of cowardice upon him, it was removed on this terrible day. Nineteen thousand of his men were dead or dying upon the scorched battlefield. Little more than half of his army survived. Two horses had been shot under him; his jacket was riddled by shot, and he had come so close into the heart of the battle that his gold snuff-box was flattened by a bullet. His courage was great and the figure which has seemed to be so despicable in victory assumed a little dignity with defeat. He held a flag high and

cried: "Whoever is a brave soldier, let him follow me." But his courage and the wilting strength of his broken army were of no avail against the enemy. Frederick turned from the shambles, with "eyes fixed and half-stunned," and cried: "Cannot some damned bullet hit me?"

Yet the drama is not in the battle itself; it lies in the fatal psychology of the Austrian army. Frederick was so broken that he wrote to his Foreign Minister: "It is a cruel blow and I cannot survive it. . . . I have no resources left, and, to speak the truth, I consider all is lost." Even then the Austrians failed to take full advantage of their success. Although Dresden was taken from the Prussians in September (a victory which might have encouraged the Austrians to annihilate the enemy), they hesitated once more. Frederick recovered and with will and vision which his severest critic must acknowledge, he gathered his dazed and shaken army together, to mend his honour.

A letter which Frederick wrote to Voltaire in September shows the quick resilience with which he recovered his bravado, in spite of his physical and material loss. "I have to do with such stupid people," he wrote, "that it necessarily follows that in the end I shall get the better of them." Dresden was in the hands of the enemy, and his troops had been defeated at Maxen, the "Finkenfang," as the engagement was designated, played an important part; the Saxon lands for which he had schemed and fought two years before were taken from him. Frederick marched once more, pouring his own courage into the remainder of his army, and as the autumn came, he tried to regain what he had lost. The army of the Empire had captured Dresden, and when Frederick marched against them, Daun hurried with his men from Silesia to frustrate him.[10] He failed. Frederick succeeded in moving his men so quickly that they took up a position between Daun and the walls of Dresden. Here they

remained until Daun decided that he must retreat. The Prussians forced him back into Bohemia, and although Frederick did not rescue Dresden from his enemy, he succeeded in recapturing great tracts of Saxony and in holding them through the winter.

Thus the 1759 campaign ended. The Russians had grown resentful and tardy. They had not followed up their success at Kunersdorf, and, partly because Peter, the heir to their throne, had regained his position, and partly because they felt that the Austrians did not assume their full share of the battles, they withdrew into Poland.

For Austria there was the confidence of success at arms. Vienna did not forget Kunersdorf because of the retreat into Bohemia. During the winter, when soldiers mustered their strength once more and when the powers contemplated the advantages of peace, Kaunitz and Maria Theresa remained firm. A peace on paper was not enough for them, and although the records of the winter of 1759–60 show that both her allies and her enemies would have welcomed an escape from incessant war, Maria Theresa held up her treaties and demanded their fulfilment.

Some of these treaties were revised for the coming year. Elizabeth of Russia came to place a bigger price upon her support and demanded that in the event of victory she should have the Kingdom of East Prussia, which had previously been signed away to an Austrian Prince. Maria Theresa had always feared the wishes of Russia over East Prussia and she had written to Starhemberg in the previous winter: "The whole balance of the north will be thrown to the rabble. The Russian power is all too formidable for ourselves and other courts to wish to see them in this neighbourhood." [11] Nevertheless, Austria was obliged to buy Russia's continued support with the promise of East Prussia,

and the demand of Elizabeth was accepted. The French treaty was also revised, but it is obvious that Prussia and France faced the campaigns of the new year with less heart than of yore. France was cowed under the defeat at Quebec in September, the naval victory of Hawke off Quiberon in November, and the British success in India. Frederick, for all his boasts, wrote to Finckenstein in January: "I feel and agree that we must regulate our pretensions by our success in arms, and I admit that we shall be very fortunate if by a peace we are able to put things where they were before the war."

Maria Theresa alone scorned all these signs of depression. Though alarmed over Russia's wish for increased power in the north, she went on, never changing her purpose, forever concentrating all her forces of mind on the reconquest of Silesia. The only thing she never doubted was the permanence of her Kingdom.

The advantages of perspective allow us to realize the forces which were at work in military science during this first half of the eighteenth century. Mechanized warfare was being born on the parade grounds of Potsdam, and, for all her superior numbers, allies, and inspiration, Maria Theresa was fighting a new kind of enemy in an old-fashioned way. The great generals and leaders of these years of war, Daun, Batthyany, Luccesi, Esterházy, Trautmansdorff, Colloredo, Buccow, Hildburghausen, Serbelloni, and Laudon had all been nurtured in the old tradition of manœuvres. They moved their soldiers with caution and they gained their victories by evading conflict rather than by forcing it. Frederick the Great was at the beginning of a new era in warfare. He triumphed by attack, not by evasion. But his science was his own and, through the seven years of war, his enemy never learned much from him by example or by

imitation. The Abbé Bernis realized the antiquity of the methods of France and her allies when he complained: "The army does not take advantage of its opportunities because nobody understands how to conduct the war except the King of Prussia." [12]

CHAPTER XXVI

Laudon invades Silesia. Battle of Landeshut. Frederick defeats Laudon at Liegnitz. Defeat of Daun at Torgau. Capture of Kolberg. Death of the Empress Elizabeth. Frederick recaptures Silesia. The end of the war

ALTHOUGH THE SEVEN YEARS OF WAR were not to end until 1762, the last terrible campaigns were in 1760. Laudon was now the hero of Maria Theresa's army. He was a more aggressive commander — the first of her generals not to need incessant prompting to attack. He was able to overcome the traditions of Austrian warfare and to meet Frederick with his own methods. He began the new year of fighting with an invasion of Silesia.

Laudon's first conquest was made without help from Russia. From the beginning he assaulted the enemy, and when he left Königgrätz at the end of May, he forced a Prussian detachment, under Fouqué, to retreat. Frederick was not accustomed to this move on the part of his generals and he

ordered Fouqué to turn and face the enemy at Landeshut. The order was foolhardy, for Laudon carried all before him. He destroyed the force and the morale of the Prussians, killing 1,900, capturing 8,300 alive, and crowning his victory by taking Fouqué himself. He then captured Glatz and prepared to advance upon Breslau, the goal of Maria Theresa's ambition.

At this time Frederick was attempting to retake Dresden, but when news of the disaster at Landeshut reached him, he changed his plans and advanced to protect Silesia. Daun abandoned the defence of Dresden and also marched to Silesia. The Russians, too, had come out of their retirement, and when Frederick realized that he would have to face the combined armies of Laudon, Daun, and Elizabeth, he was obliged to turn from force to tactics. His one hope was to prevent Daun from joining Laudon and the Russians. Austria's slowness helped Frederick once more. He defeated Laudon at Liegnitz, before Daun arrived.

The Prussians were held together by a force which survived all the disasters which Frederick suffered. Frederick retaliated by the victory against Laudon at Liegnitz and thus restored his own confidence, although it did not upset the balance of honours in his favour. A moral victory came on October 9, when the Austrians and Russians gave a dramatic turn to the game by entering Berlin. The Russians were the first to arrive in Frederick's capital. They were soon joined by 15,000 Austrians. The army of occupation celebrated their achievement by extracting two million thalers[1] from the city – almost half the annual subsidy which England paid to Frederick to help him in the war. The occupation of Berlin was no more than a profitable gesture, for the Russians and Austrians were soon obliged to retreat. Frederick abandoned the defence of Silesia and hurried back to Berlin.

Although his approach forced the allied army to retire, they achieved this move without any demonstration of offence from Frederick.

Again, as the cold months approached, Frederick ended the campaign with a victorious move. While he was hurrying towards Berlin, to save his capital, Daun was free to make a fresh campaign in Saxony.

He could do no more in Silesia, but there was still time to make some recompense to the unfortunate King of Saxony. For a little time he marched as a conqueror, and one fortress after another fell to him. But Frederick did not hesitate once he had freed Berlin of the army of occupation; he hurried back to Saxony, where, in one of the most terrible battles of the war, he attacked Daun at Torgau, November 3, 1760. The battle went on all day, with varying advantages, until near nightfall, when the Prussians withdrew.[2] Daun had been wounded during the fray, but when he heard of the enemy's retreat from the field, he was so elated that he dispatched the good news to Vienna. The Prussians still had their deadliest strength in hand, however, and as darkness came on, they began the battle once more, forcing the Austrians towards the banks of the Elbe. While the happy message of victory was being hastened towards Maria Theresa, Daun and his men were struggling across the river. They crossed with difficulty, leaving the dead and wounded behind them, while the Prussians held the field.

There was a sad aftermath of all this for Maria Theresa. She received the good news before the evil news could overtake the first courier. She heard the first courier's wonderful story before he arrived within the city to tell it. The story of Daun's supposed victory travelled faster than the messenger's horse. Maria Theresa ordered that the news should be brought to her through the streets of the city with an escort

of soldiers and trumpeters.[3] When the truth reached her, Maria Theresa was robbed of any joy the year's campaigns might have given her.

Even Kaunitz spoke of peace during the months that followed, and while the Empress's soldiers were preparing for still another summer of fighting, her adviser was wondering anxiously whether the war had profited them at all. The circumstances which eventually brought peace to the powers were surprising when one considers that thousands upon thousands of men had been killed to settle the rivalry within Europe.

The war was to go on through 1761 and 1762, but the event which decided the day of peace, more than all the bloody splendour of battle, was the death of the Empress Elizabeth in January 1762.

First, the battles of the previous year must be reviewed, although they were of less importance than those of the fifties. The armies were exhausted and diplomats as well as soldiers were so tired of the prolonged conflict that they made designs for peace rather than new schemes for war. It was not until September 1761 that any decisive battle was fought. Then Laudon took Schweidnitz from the Prussians, at a dramatic moment, for Frederick's fortunes were on the ebb and, with the international talk of peace, every victory was increasingly important. It was to Laudon that the final honours of the war were given. Daun was in a defensive position in Saxony, depressed under the unpopularity which he had had to face in Vienna. The opportunity of the year fell to Laudon, who had evaded Frederick and had joined the Russians, in great strength, in Silesia, and then made his capture of the magazine and the important fortress of Schweidnitz. This was followed by a firmer conquest of Glatz. Daun likewise distinguished himself by extensive occupations in Saxony, and when winter came, Frederick the

Great retired to his quarters in all the circumstances of defeat. For the first time since the war began, the Austrians were able to winter in Silesia and Saxony. The Russians also were triumphant, for they were able to winter in Pomerania. They ended the campaign with an especially important victory when they took Kolberg, which gave them a port in the heart of Frederick's Kingdom.

A few months before, Frederick had written to his brother: "They could . . . take everything. Here in Silesia every fortress stands at the disposal of the enemy. . . . If fortune continues to treat me so mercilessly, I shall undoubtedly succumb." His enemies did not take everything, but they almost forced Frederick to succumb.

When the months of reckoning came, in January and February 1762, Europe was shaken by events more alarming than war. In October 1760, George II had died and his more peaceful heir had come to the throne. George III, "born and educated" in England, as he declared from the throne, and glorying "in the name of Briton," was less likely to encourage war and less likely to be drawn into the old territorial greed over Hanover, which he had never seen.

The event which destroyed Maria Theresa was the death of her ally, Elizabeth of Russia. Every hope seemed to fall about her. In December she had been forced by the poverty of her people to decrease her army for the threatened campaigns of 1762. Now she was to lose her mighty ally, for Peter admired Frederick too much to continue the war against him. Peace was signed between Russia and Prussia in May of the new year. Sweden followed Russia's example and made peace seventeen days after. If Maria Theresa turned from her ally of the east, wondering if she could now expect renewed help from her ally of the west, she was to be equally disappointed. France was weakened beyond any substantial military efforts. Maria Theresa stood alone, with

nothing but her depleted army and Kaunitz's cunning to support her. The return of Silesia to her dominions was now not even a dream.

Frederick the Great had become an old, careless, and morose man during the seven years of war. The once bombastic figure, sitting at the table with Voltaire, exchanging malicious wit over the commonness of Madame de Pompadour and the prayers of Maria Theresa, had become a dirty, unshaven eccentric, refusing to see his friends and concentrating all his thoughts upon his own disaster. Then came the last vital glimpse of the ruthless conqueror. When Frederick realized that he had the support of Russia (although it was soon to be negated through the assassination of Peter and the accession of Catherine) and when he contemplated Austria's weakness, he knew that his last hour was to be his glorious hour. He set out once more with his army and wrested from Maria Theresa all that Daun and Laudon had gained for her. His victories began in July when he routed the Austrians at Burkersdorf. In the following month he drove Daun and his men from Schweidnitz, which they had captured the year before. The Prussians occupied Silesia once more, and Maria Theresa had to reconcile herself to the fact that she had lost her "precious jewel" forever. In Saxony also the Prussians won. With equal success Frederick's brother, Henry, moved in between the Austrians and the Imperial army and kept this advantage for some time. He was repulsed, but when he met his enemy at Freiburg, he destroyed them with terrible fire, killing 3,000, taking 4,000 prisoners, 28 pieces of artillery, and several standards. The long and dreary struggle for Silesia ended and it was Frederick's ruthless courage instead of Maria Theresa's blind faith that sounded the last note of the war. Most of the documents of the time are in the writing

of Kaunitz and there do not seem to be many records of the anxieties and emotions of the Empress. But she said all in October, when the battles ended. "So dark is the outlook," she wrote, "that we must either have immediate peace, or none." [4]

The Seven Years' War ended, with a lesson to ambitious and vindictive rulers which has perhaps had a faint influence on the subsequent ambitions of Europe. The fields for which Maria Theresa had fought were given over to dead soldiers rather than to husbandry, and the shattered villages were still in the hands of the enemy. Seldom in history had there been such violent destruction of life to so little material purpose. Austria had to comfort herself with the moral gain of having established her position as a power in middle Europe. It was a further bitter reproach upon the methods of the time that the final war was still to be fought on paper. It was upon the wits of diplomats rather than the swords of warriors that the powers were now to depend for their profit. They turned to their conferences and their treaties, with sharp anxiety, and each saved all that he could from the burning.

The treaty which terminated the Seven Years' War was signed in the castle of Hubertusburg on February 15, 1763, and brought both opponents, Maria Theresa and Frederick, the control of their own states, but was much to the disadvantage of the Empress. The doom of the House of Habsburg was sealed when the Empress realized bitterly that her last hope of regaining Silesia was lost. The Hubertusburg Peace established the realm of Frederick and placed him definitely in the circle of the great powers. The consequence was significant in the fate of the Continent. The control of Silesia and the newly-won position of Prussia constituted a condition of inestimable importance to the future

of Europe. The struggle for the supremacy in Germany had begun. The Seven Years' War ended on the Continent with a return to the *status quo ante bellum.*

The close of the Seven Years' War struck a minor chord in the life of Maria Theresa. From now on, resignation was a controlling motive. In a letter to her daughter Marie Antoinette she says that the best half of her life had been spent in unfortunate wars and she now hoped the dear Lord would let her close her eyes in peace. She had just reached the middle of her forties and already felt herself an old woman. She had passed the peak of her triumphs, for the star of her enemy was rising victoriously.

Soon after the Hubertusburg Peace,[5] the death of her husband in 1765 destroyed the happiness of her marriage. This added grief affected her whole character. Her letters now are often tinged with melancholy.[6] Added to this, her son Joseph afforded her little comfort and subsequently brought much disillusionment to her rich life.

CHAPTER XXVII

Maria Theresa's character and aims. Results of the Seven Years' War. Reforms during and after the war

IN THE LIGHT of twentieth-century cynicism, there is much that was ruthless and much that was ridiculous in the ethics governing monarchs during the early eighteenth century. Although a million men were killed in the Seven Years' War, and although the progress of human life was arrested for perhaps a hundred years, it would be unjust to lay the blame for this upon any individual. The most destructive critic who seeks into the documents of the time cannot deny the loftiness of Maria Theresa's spirit. She had an object in her life and she pursued it, at the expense of all other causes. That she failed to regain Silesia in the end is true, but she paid for her failure with great personal unhappiness, which increased from 1763 until the year of her death. She possessed all the dignity, the narrow but strong idealism, and the faith which Frederick lacked.

In this age of quick transit it is not easy to realize the odd relationships which existed between Maria Theresa and her enemies. The man she hated most was a stranger to her, although the suggestion had once been made that she should marry him. Louis of France, Elizabeth of Russia, Fleury, Madame de Pompadour, and Elizabeth Farnese were the names most constantly on Maria Theresa's tongue, but she never saw one of them. In actual experience of people she was an insular Viennese, but lack of contact and limited knowledge of the outer world did not interfere with the definite shape which she gave to both her hate and her affection. Through the short journeys which she made, she knew little of the world beyond the fair lands that lay west towards Salzburg and south towards Graz. She never went as far as Buda during all her reign. The word *matriarch* fits her well, so far as her instincts were concerned. She had inherited a responsibility which was centuries old, and she saw this responsibility, by virtue of her womanhood, with something of the carefulness and anxiety of a mother.

Maria Theresa knew the meaning of the phrase: "What I have, I hold," and it was this sense in her which was offended by defeat. Her inner emotions showed upon her face. Those who watched her in her forty-fourth year said that the lines about her mouth had hardened and that her judgments were less kindly in the last years of the war. She admitted this in her letters. It would be extravagant to say that Kaunitz's power over her was hypnotic, but it is true that once she had accepted the fact of his genius, nothing would shake her loyalty to him. She forgave his rudeness, which spared neither herself nor her son. Kaunitz had made terrible mistakes and it was true that the plan to which he had persuaded her, at the time of the change of alliances, had availed her nothing at all. But she followed his advice in peace as in war, and it was Kaunitz who framed the first

terms which were laid before Frederick as a plea for peace. The clauses were as selfish as he dared to make them. Perhaps it was Kaunitz's sense of Habsburg inviolability that attached Maria Theresa to him as much as any aspect of his diplomacy. She was instinctively possessive and it was in her blood to rule and to relent nothing. Kaunitz encouraged her in this. He contributed to her single-minded belief that she had been born to inherit certain lands, certain responsibilities, and certain privileges, which her ancestors had held before her. She always saw Frederick as an upstart and a robber, and if she seemed to be too haughty in her fight against him, too blind to the price paid by her people, it was because she was one of the last monarchs to believe in the divine right of kings, symbolized for her by the divine right of the Habsburgs. She was *The Last Conservative.* The remorse and pain she must have suffered in approaching Frederick and asking him for peace cannot be described because they were not recorded. They depend for understanding upon the imagination and the sensibility of the reader.

The impoverished Elector of Saxony was chosen as Maria Theresa's intermediary after the seventh year of the war. She would not approach Frederick herself. This rather sad and haughty gesture in the hour of failure did not help her, for Frederick was as adamant when bending over the terms of a treaty as he was when tracing the lines upon a war map. Kaunitz had drawn up his suggestions at length; at such length that Frederick murmured: "I am no friend of the long-drawn-out method of writing." Kaunitz was too sly to fail upon this point, and knowing Frederick's poor scholarship in German, he had prepared also a short version of the terms in French, which the intermediary placed before the Prussian King.

Frederick still assumed the airs of conqueror, and he exacted also the privileges. Maria Theresa wished to retain

Glatz and she wished that Ansbach and Bayreuth should go, not to Prussia, but to a lesser line of the Hohenzollerns. Saxony was to be given back to the Elector, and Frederick was to support her son Joseph as a candidate for the crown of King of the Holy Roman Empire. The honours of being King of the Holy Roman Empire were, of course, separate from those of being Emperor, and the election of Joseph would not interfere with the existing crown and privileges of his father. Frederick would have none of Kaunitz's plans to save something from the ruins of the war. He said that "as long as he lived" he would not give up Glatz. But Frederick also wished for peace, and, during the long negotiations which followed, in the hunting castle at Hubertusburg, in Saxony, he yielded a little. They wrangled for three long winter months before the day of signing came, when, "trembling all over," Maria Theresa's emissary put his name to the humiliating document which restored Saxony to the Elector, but which made no concessions over Glatz. All that Maria Theresa won from the war and from the peace was Frederick's willingness to support Joseph as King of the Empire.[1]

The future, rather than immediate circumstances, was to reveal the results of the Seven Years' War. Frederick the Great was to dominate one period in the growth of the Prussian Kingdom. Historians agree that there is no continuity in German history which binds one piece of development to another: that the dominion of Frederick, then of Bismarck, then of William of Hohenzollern and, in our own day, of Herr Hitler, are separate, without any merging points. But it is true that the Seven Years' War gave Prussia her kingly name and made her a first-rate power, which she had never been before. France had suffered from the most foolish diplomatic fiasco of her history. By pledging herself to Austria, she had divided her strength and had been left

with only half her army to fight against England in the colonial wars. England alone came out of the conflict enriched and victorious. Her Empire was born. Australia, South Africa, Canada, and India were hers. While the powers of Europe were spilling the blood of a million men, with no profit at all, the British people had riveted their girdle around the earth.

The peace concluded, Maria Theresa and Kaunitz were able to consider reforms and ways of healing their harassed and impoverished country. One important innovation had been brought into force during the war. Before the campaign of 1761, the system of taxation for raising money for the army was found to be inadequate. The expenses incurred by the country when at war exceeded the income by 6,000,000 gulden. The war alone was bleeding the people of 100,000,000 gulden a year. Kaunitz was dissatisfied with the system of government which controlled the army and finances and he proposed a change. A state council was to be instituted, to act as an advisory body to the Empress. Maria Theresa welcomed the change. "I flatter myself that I shall be able to prevent the ruin of the State," she wrote. "I await with great eagerness the beginning of this new council, as the salvation of my hereditary lands and the way to peace of my soul and my mind." [2] The members included Kaunitz, Haugwitz, Daun, Blunegen, Borie, von Stupan and von König and they held their first meeting, in the presence of the Empress and the Emperor, on January 26, 1761.

From this time Maria Theresa was helped in all the great problems by the combined advice of this distinguished council. The division of authority between government offices, questions of taxation, army strength, justice, police, and finance were all considered and strengthened by the deliberation of the members, and when the war had ended, Maria Theresa was able to introduce new reforms.[3]

In spite of many unfulfilled hopes, the great Theresian reforms of the past two decades proceeded. Centralization reached its highest point in the financial administration, when the presidency of the Exchequer was combined with the High Chancellery and the Department of Commerce. In the Department of Justice she established a more permanent body of magistrates and also devoted much attention to the Department of District Civil Officials. All these measures accentuated the principle of absolutism for which Maria Theresa stood. Thus the monarchy and state advanced and the power of the lords of the realm diminished, unity supplanted the confusion of interests which had formerly existed, and the growing official body became more unified. The manner in which the Empress centralized her government and gradually deprived the lords of the realm of their former power is a distinct evidence of her statesmanship.

Her depleted treasury at the end of the war put upon her an extra burden. Many attempts were made to improve the finances. Never in her history did the Empress in any way misappropriate her income for her own personal needs or to satisfy the royal whims. To be sure, her numerous children required a large fortune for their support, but in her own pretensions she was decidedly modest. Her chief extravagance was her gifts to the poor and the deserving ones of her own household and government. She many times paid the debts of the court cavaliers. To be sure, like her husband, she sometimes allowed herself to be enticed into gambling. In order to assist in filling the depleted treasury of her State, the lottery was introduced and games of chance were not discouraged.

Brought up with the truly Austrian idea of a comfortable mode of life, her nature was foreign to the miserliness of the King of Prussia. In a letter to her son Ferdinand she once severely complained that she did not like his smallness with

money, because it made him hard and calculating, and these characteristics, she says, should be combated, "so as not to become a misanthrope in this evil world."

The penal code which came into existence under her leadership and which carried her name, *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*,[4] was a decided advance in the interests of State unity. Sonnenfels, a jurist of her time, summoned all his eloquence against the continuation of torture. The ageing princess, now less gracious than in her early years, was definitely opposed to the abolition of torture, and it was only towards the end of her reign that she finally decided to suspend this horrible practice, which was really a remnant of the Middle Ages. Her encouragement of it may be allied, by psychologists, to her piety. There was a strange complex in her nature which fundamentally was tender and maternal, but which occasionally exhibited a cruel streak and did not recoil from sacrificing the last drop of blood of her retainers in order to accomplish her purposes in war and administer punishment in times of peace. Another inconsistency of her nature was her dislike of superstition, which she tried to suppress on every side. As an example of this, she forbade the publication of the peasant calendar because there was so much in it every year which catered to the stupid and intimidating superstitions of the peasants.

The relations of the Empress to the spiritual and mental side of the reign of enlightenment which spread over Europe in the eighteenth century was very much handicapped by her churchliness. Her persecution of the Protestants and Jews is a dark blot on her escutcheon. All Protestants she, dominated by the bigoted principles of her Jesuit teachers, considered lost, and only bestowed her grace on them in so far as they were economically necessary. The Jews she condemned to the ghetto, and she saw in them an accursed people and a menace to the State. She wished to banish

them from Bohemia to the last man, although her ministers and lords did not share this view. Her hatred of the Jews remained with her until the end.

The Empress occupied herself little with the creation of works of art, and few important buildings, outside Schönbrunn, were erected during her reign in Vienna. Matters of politics and government and her family filled her days and gave her little time for recreation or for interesting herself in the artistic life of her period. In educational matters she took a very active interest, and the establishment of the Theresianum, Jesuit school for boys, which still exists in Vienna, was a great contribution to the educational system. Literature was far from her range of interests. As she explained to Lessing, as a woman she was able to accomplish little in this field.[5] The movement towards the construction of the Burgtheater in Vienna, which began during her reign, did not particularly interest her. She devoted herself little to the development of the theatre or the career of the actors, and in her later years discouraged the people of her court from occupying themselves with the stage. She left these matters entirely to her son Joseph. After the death of Francis she manifested a distinct prejudice against the stage, grounded in a fear that youth might be led astray by it. Her founding of the much ridiculed chastity commission, vainly defended by Sonnenfels, aroused universal criticism in an age which openly tolerated licentiousness. The memoirs of Casanova devote a chapter to ridiculing this peculiarity of the Empress.[6]

Towards that other German woman on the throne of Russia, the Czarina Catherine, whom Maria Theresa haughtily despised, she bore a deep grudge, not only because of political differences, but perhaps because of jealousy, since the activity of the Czarina in the sphere of learning and literature was pronounced. The Empress, on the contrary,

was not a personage of great book-learning, and in many matters her horizon was almost as narrow as that of the small burgher woman.

Of all the arts, music was the closest to her and was a fundamental part of her children's education and of the court life. Without music Austria would be unimaginable, even today. Church music, especially, flourished during her reign and was much influenced by the Italian school. Gluck, although German, was the court choir-master and received her patronage, as has been said. He created many works in her honour.[7] She introduced him to Marie Antoinette, and in Paris this gifted German musician fought a bitter fight to exterminate the artificial style of the Italian opera of the day.

CHAPTER XXVIII

The character of Joseph, Maria Theresa's heir. His unhappy marriage to Isabella of Parma. Her death and his second unhappy marriage

MARIA THERESA'S HEIR was now twenty-one years old and he was already raising his voice from the steps of his mother's throne. Joseph lived and thought in a secret world to which neither his mother nor his father ever gained access. They had tried to impose their own standards of thought upon him, and their advice had been wise. Maria Theresa had written to one of his tutors, some years before: "He shall learn to value himself and others according to their real, solid worth. I particularly detest what is often to be censured in great men; that is, misusing their rank and taking pleasure in bringing embarrassment to others, and offending those who are not in a position to repay them in the same coin." Nor had his mother spared him punishment. When she once ordered that he should be whipped, she was told that a Habsburg Prince had never been treated so be-

fore. "That may be," she answered, "but they also turned out accordingly." [1]

Joseph turned out "accordingly" in spite of his mother's wise instruction and the intimidation of the stick. In the core of him there was the essence of greatness, but his nature was too confused for him to grow up as a simple, human Prince. He was tortured by his own nature, and as he grew into the late teens, those about him observed his inwardness and secrecy and took these into account in their treatment of him. His sisters came to hate him because he had begun by hating them. Visitors to the court were shy of him. "One could only perceive that he was extremely reserved," wrote Prince Albert of Saxony, when he visited the palace in 1760. Prince Albert said that Joseph was "much talked about," but that his character was "virtually unknown." Out of his silence came occasional firm decisions. When he was twenty, the young Prince who had been described as "stiff-necked and stubborn" began to speak on occasions when his mother and father were wrestling with affairs of the world. He had questioned his mother's wisdom in allying herself with France, when he was barely sixteen. His mother had considered his opinion at the end of the Seven Years' War, when peace was proposed. She had written to Kaunitz that both her husband and her *son* wished "to bring matters to a conclusion." His most intelligent early observation was made when Austria found it necessary to reduce her army, at the end of the Seven Years' War. His suggestions were modestly made and he excused his report by saying that he was like "a good monk who writes in his cell without knowing the world." His suggestion was nevertheless enlightened and wise. He asked that leave of absence should be given to the soldiers twice every year so that they could work upon the land, build roads and bridges, and strengthen the prosperity of the country as well as defend it.

The enlightened despot was emerging from the silent, morose adolescent and in his twenties Joseph was already troubled by his conscience over the responsibilities that awaited him. When he was only twenty, he begged his mother to free herself of expensive idlers. It was his principle that every person could be usefully employed. Joseph was troubled, too, by the gap which lay between him and his mother. It was no ordinary gap. Parents and their sons are often estranged, but between sovereigns and their heirs the haze of misunderstanding and suspicion is usually impenetrable. In the relationship between Maria Theresa and her son, there was no pretence at understanding, on his part. She was already old-fashioned in Joseph's eyes, and he scorned most of the ideals for which she proved her devotion. He opposed her, with all the strength of his will, but his natural secrecy helped him to withhold his temper. Once when his mother found among his papers an alarming treatise on the desirability of confiscating Church property – all in tune with his hatred of Jesuit strength – his mother had the document burned. He answered the protest by saying: "To burn does not convince." Joseph was nevertheless rigid with principles and busy with ideas. The chief of these which he expressed about this time was in a treatise. He wrote that he was "fully convinced of the necessity of some sort of despotism."

If Joseph was a stranger in his own family and a graceless companion among the members of his mother's court, there was another fairer aspect of his character which he revealed to the poor. Perhaps he hid his good deeds, as men of character will. He was magnanimous and kind to the destitute and the tortured. A story is told of his visit to an old officer who was obliged to support his ten children on little or no money. Joseph went to see him and found that there were

EMPEROR JOSEPH II

after a painting in Schönbrunn

eleven children in the house. "I know you have ten children, but whose is the eleventh?" he asked.

"It is an orphan," replied the veteran, "whom I found exposed at my door, and I could not suffer it to perish for want of assistance." Joseph, struck with this act of humanity, said: "Let the children be in future my pensioners, and do you continue to give them examples of virtue and honour; I settle upon each of them two hundred florins a year, of which you shall receive the first quarter tomorrow. I myself will take care of your eldest son, and, as an earnest of my future intentions, give him the commission of a lieutenant."

There were many such graceful stories in Joseph's favour. He kept his sullen aspect for his family and his court. He was neither a gracious nor an attractive Prince to those who knew him, but he was full of character and purpose and destined to be a celebrity as well as a monarch. He had the satisfaction, some years later, of pleasing the least devoted of his mother's enemies. Frederick the Great met Joseph at Neisse in August 1769. Frederick said of him afterwards to the Austrian Ambassador in Berlin: "The young Emperor possesses all the qualities which go to make a very great man, he has a store of that noble ambition which leads to great enterprises; he holds back as yet; but wait a little while and you will see how he will shine."

The first change which broke the spell for the silent, stubborn Prince was his marriage, in 1760, when he was twenty-one. Joseph's betrothal to Isabella of Parma was at first a gesture in diplomacy, calculated to strengthen the friendship between Maria Theresa and Louis XV, who was Isabella's uncle. This, too, had been part of Kaunitz's plan, in connection with the Austro-Franco Alliance of 1756. But the marriage was to open a new and terrible world to

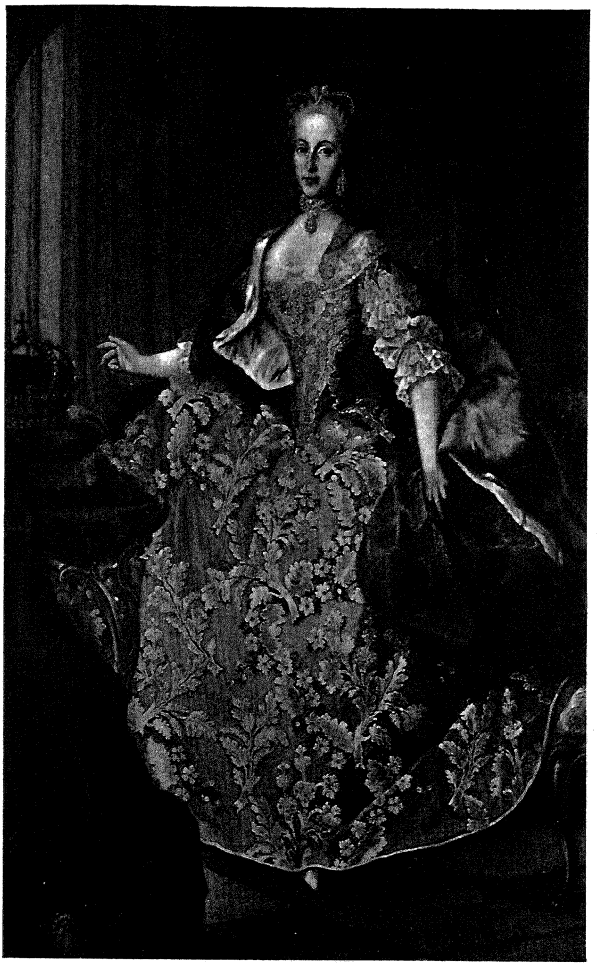
Joseph, as well as to his bride. Their love-story was to be as tragic and melancholy as any in history.

Isabella of Parma was eighteen. She was dark and her eyes were deep with the spirit which was behind them, and when she came to the court in Vienna as a bride, she walked like a stranger among the blonde Princesses. With Joseph, too, she made a contrast, for his hair was fair and his eyes were blue. When Joseph was first told of the Princess chosen for him to marry, she was described to him as being gentle and kind. He knew also that she was cultivated; that her father had instructed her in music and had guided her to appreciation of beauty. The formal tributes to her merits gave no personal glimpses of Isabella, but one sees her well in her own description of herself. Her mind, she said, was not unlike her desk. All sorts of things found their place in it — "a little philosophy, a little morals, light romances, deep reflections, merry songs, history, physics, logic, metaphysics." [2] She kept the most frightening and the most important to the end. She came to Joseph obediently, but in great fear.

Joseph's sense of duty prevented him from resenting a chosen bride, but he faced his marriage in coldness and disappointment. "I will do everything to win her respect and confidence, but love? No," he wrote to his friend Count Salm. "I cannot play the agreeable, the amateur. That goes against my nature." Even on the eve of his wedding he said: "I am more afraid of marriage than of battle."

Maria Theresa saw the union between her son and the Princess in a less complicated way. "Everything that pertains to this marriage is according to my wishes," she wrote to Prince Liechtenstein. "I flatter myself that it will ensure to my later years a freedom from care denied to me in my youth."

Although Austria was still at war and Vienna saddened



MARIA ISABELLA OF PARMA, FIRST WIFE OF EMPEROR JOSEPH II

after a painting in Schönbrunn

by the defeats and through poverty, the progress of the Princess across the mountains and into the city was attended with every brilliance. Three hundred post horses accompanied her on her journey from Parma, and she entered Vienna in one of a hundred carriages. It was at the beginning of October that she came, to be married to a husband who had thought of her as dispassionately as if she were a treaty. Five days afterwards they were married, with splendour which belied the defeat of Laudon at Liegnitz about six weeks before. Two hundred and twenty gala carriages, each drawn by a span of six horses, drove from the Belvedere Castle to the Augustine Church. Vienna once more showed its capacity to recover from depression, and for several days Silesia, Liegnitz, poverty, and war were forgotten.

The motherly aspect of Maria Theresa's nature was touched by the marriage of her son. "I am on the tiptop of happiness," she wrote. "I quite forgot that I was a King in my gladness as a mother." For Joseph the change was natural, but astonishing. For the first time in his life he had somebody of his own age who was primarily his companion. Isabella was beautiful, but some mystery in her, which he did not fathom, also made her seem cold. As love came to him, it grew stronger because of her apathy. "My wife becomes ever more dear in my eyes," he wrote to his mother. But the object of his love did not become less detached. Isabella turned all her devotions to the prospect of death. It was her obsession: some melancholy, prophetic power lay behind her dark, still eyes. While Joseph pleaded eagerly, with love which depended no longer upon Kaunitz's plans or Austria's cause, but upon his own true heart, Isabella wrote gloomily of her coming death. "Death is beneficent," she wrote. "Never have I thought of it more than now. Everything arouses in me the desire to die soon. God knows my wish to desert a life which insults Him every day. . . .

What business have I in the world? I am good for nothing. . . . If it were permitted to kill oneself, I would have already done it." [3]

She was tender over Joseph's love. Isabella came to understand Joseph, even if she did not love him, and she gave him two babies, who died when they were young. "One must tell him the truth in all things and always meet him gently and tenderly," she advised his sister. "One must not pet him too much, or he would take it for flattery and falsehood." Every glimpse into her mind proves her to have been remarkable. "A Princess cannot, like the poorest woman in a hut, relax in the midst of her family," she complained, when the weight of the court life in Vienna depressed her. "In the high society in which she is forced to live, she has neither acquaintances nor friends. It is for this that she has to leave her family, her home. And why? To belong to a man whose character she does not know, to enter into a family where she is received with jealousy."

There was only one person in the court who knew Isabella's dark secret. Isabella's love dared not speak its name, for it was to Joseph's sister that she gave her strange heart. The force of her unnatural passion became terrible. "I am told that one should begin the day with God," she wrote to the Archduchess Maria Christina: "I, however, begin the day by thinking of the object of my love and I end it with thoughts of the same." And again: "I cannot live in this unrest. I can think of nothing except that I am in love like a fool, if only I knew why." [4] We know enough of Maria Christina's character to suspect her of hardness and trickery. Whether her nature guided her to accept the strange suit is a secret, but it is true that Isabella found as little contentment in her love for her sister-in-law as she did in the marriage which had been thrust upon her. She accused Maria Chris-

tina: "Your mercilessness is so great that one should not love you, yet one cannot prevent it."

She turned from the unsatisfactory path of her passion to ponder still more upon death. Upon this matter Maria Christina was right. She wrote to Isabella: "Allow me to tell you that your great longing for death is an out-and-out evil thing. It either points to selfishness or a desire to seem heroic, and it is at variance with your own loving disposition." [5]

Joseph lived through this dangerous love, too simple in his devotion ever to guess what it was that held Isabella away from him. He found happiness in his first taste of domestic peace, in the evenings playing upon the clavichord and she upon her violin. And while these scenes passed, Isabella brooded over her misery and continued to wish for death. It came in the winter of 1763, when Isabella died in Joseph's arms. Their evil union ended and Joseph's grief was terrible. "I have lost everything. My adored wife, my love, my only friend is gone. . . . I hardly know if I am still alive. Shall I survive this terrible separation? . . . There can be no more happiness for me while life endures." [6] He stayed in the rooms they had shared, fingering her possessions, torturing himself with his loneliness. "Often I seem to see her so clearly that I speak to her and feel less lonely," he wrote to Isabella's father. The last depth of his sorrow was revealed when he cried: "I have lost her, and I am only twenty-three." [7]

The most terrible of Joseph's losses was still waiting for him. His sister Maria Christina had never loved him. His sullenness towards her when they were children had not been forgotten and, with wicked and cruel intention, she gathered Isabella's love-letters together and took them to her brother. He should know, in the hour of his grief, that

Isabella had never loved him. Maria Christina was the only one Isabella had loved and she did not spare her brother from the bitter revelation.

The death of Isabella and his love for her continued to darken Joseph's life. Some nobleness in him, which does not always shine, helped him to understand and to condone Isabella's twisted nature, and his love survived both this and her death. Four months after Isabella's death, Joseph had to face his coronation at Frankfort, an " unpleasant and needless function " to him, for he despised the empty show of honours connected with the Roman Empire. Three million gulden were spent upon the coronation, which bored Joseph so terribly. Goethe, now a boy of fifteen, watched the procession from a balcony and recalled " the young King " in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, dragging himself " in the immense robes of Charlemagne, as in a disguise, so that he himself, looking from time to time at his father, could not refrain from smiling. The crown, which had, no doubt, to be heavily lined, stood like a projecting roof above his head." Goethe felt that " a strong figure " would have been a better match for " such splendid clothes."

The coronation was a brilliant incident in Joseph's life; little more than that. For a time Maria Theresa sustained her bereaved son with letters in which all her motherliness shows itself. But these true emotions could not last for long. Very soon Maria Theresa was searching among the Princesses of Europe to find Joseph a second wife. Still bemused by his sorrow, he begged that he should be allowed to marry Isabella's sister, who was only fourteen. But she was promised to a son of the King of Spain. Versailles and Madrid then made suggestions, for Joseph's marriage was likely to affect all the affairs of Europe. Their first suggestion was Princess Kunigunde of Saxony. Joseph was so depressed by the sight of her that his mother did not press her further

ARCHDUCHESS MARIA CHRISTINA, WIFE OF PRINCE ALBERT OF SAXONY, ELDEST DAUGHTER OF MARIA THERESA

after a painting by Zoffani in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna

upon him. Then the Princess Josepha of Bavaria was proposed. Once more Joseph bowed to Kaunitz's diplomacy and embarked on a marriage which was as ridiculous and hideous as his first had been tragic. Princesses were offered to him, but he met the wretched situation, so soon after his grief, with resignation. "I have known the greatest of all bereavements, the most crushing sorrows," he wrote to Isabella's father once more, "but further suffering still awaits me by reason of my wretched trade. I shall not be allowed to give the fidelity of a lifetime to the wife who still possesses my whole heart." [8] He accepted his loneliness as inevitable. His father, whom Joseph dismissed as an "idler surrounded by flatterers," and his mother, who was too anxious for the succession to encourage Joseph's grief, both lent themselves to the plan to marry him once more. Joseph had only Isabella's father to turn to, and when he saw the wretched woman chosen to be his second wife, he wrote once more to Parma. "Her age is twenty-six, a small fat figure without youthful charm, and red spots on her face, dreadful teeth. . . . I implore that you intercede for me in so difficult a position. . . . I will make the sacrifice for them. . . . Pity me." [9] And when the wedding was over, Joseph found the burden more than he could support. He wrote once more to his father-in-law: "I believed myself strong enough to find consolation in this dreadful situation in which I am, but human weakness has won the upper hand and I cannot deceive you, that I find myself in a very sad plight. . . . Love does not yield to common sense and it is not my nature to pretend." [10]

Joseph's nature was embittered by this second experience of marriage. He found the wretched Josepha so repulsive to him, because of her pock-marked body, that he was barely polite and he displayed his loathing so far as to build a barrier across the balcony which opened into the rooms of

both, so that all the world could know his unhappy situation. Again it was the salacious Maria Christina who observed her brother's torture. While the ugly Josepha was still alive, she wrote of Joseph: "I believe that if I were his wife, and so mistreated, I would escape and hang myself on a tree at Schönbrunn." Josepha also died of smallpox, without giving Joseph the heir which his mother wished for. And Joseph turned once more to his old ghosts and, embracing the dead, seemed to become less kindly in dealing with the living. The barriers between himself and his mother increased and Joseph's secrecy grew until he was more lonely than ever. He revealed himself only to the father of dead Isabella and sometimes to his brother Leopold. "If I did not have a little philosophy to sustain me," he wrote, "I would go insane."

CHAPTER XXIX

The family of Maria Theresa. Maria Theresa's love for her first daughter-in-law. Her piety and concern over her sons. Death of the Emperor Francis

THE SIXTEEN CHILDREN born to Maria Theresa did not always bring her happiness. Her motherly wishes had to yield so frequently to the responsibilities of the crown that the vast family appears too often like the figures in a diplomatic game and not as a group gathered about a wife and her husband. But the domestic scenes were not lacking. A table of the children in the order of their births is interesting.[1] It is as follows:

ELIZABETH	*Born*	5 Feb.	1737	*Died*	2 June	1740
MARIA ANNA	"	6 Oct.	1738	"	19 Oct.	1789
MARIA KAROLINA	"	12 Jan.	1740	"	25 Jan.	1741
JOSEPH	"	13 Mar.	1741	"	20 Feb.	1790
MARIA CHRISTINA	"	13 May	1742	"	24 June	1798
MARIA ELIZABETH	"	13 Aug.	1743	"	23 Sept.	1808
KARL JOSEPH	"	1 Feb.	1745	"	18 Jan.	1761
MARIA AMALIA	"	26 Feb.	1746	"	18 June	1804
LEOPOLD	"	15 May	1747	"	1 Mar.	1792

MARIA CAROLINE	*Born*	18	Sept.	1748	*Died*	18 Sept.	1748
JOHANNA GABRIELE	"	4	Feb.	1750	"	23 Dec.	1762
MARIA JOSEPHA	"	19	May	1751	"	15 Oct.	1767
MARIE CAROLINE (CARLOTTA)	"	13	Aug.	1752	"	8 Sept.	1814
FERDINAND KARL	"	1	June	1754	"	24 Dec.	1806
MARIE ANTONIA (ANTOINETTE)	"	2	Nov.	1755	"	16 Oct.	1793
MAXIMILIAN	"	8	Dec.	1756	"	27 July	1801

Maria Theresa had to choose between her kingliness and her maternal instincts all her life, and when the motherly side of her won, she appeared as an affectionate woman. Her letters to Joseph and to her daughters show this gentleness.

None of her own children caught Maria Theresa's heart more quickly than the ill-fated Isabella, whose qualities had soon excited friendship as well as love in her mother-in-law. The brief years of Isabella's life in the court must have been important to Maria Theresa, for the dark, mournful Princess of Parma was intelligent and moderately wise. Isabella's first child, named for Maria Theresa, who died when she was young, also drew Maria Theresa and her daughter-in-law closer together. The Empress had no need to view her grandchild through Kaunitz's eyes. She was able to love it with all her heart. But the most revealing record of the friendship between the Empress and Isabella lies in the comments which Isabella made on the life and character of her mother-in-law. Isabella was shrewd enough to see the mistakes Maria Theresa made through her trustfulness. "The Empress is such a very good friend herself," she wrote, "that she forgets that good friends are rare and that very few persons can be trusted unreservedly." [2]

The strangest and most important document which remains is a letter written by Isabella to her sister-in-law, Maria Christina. It belonged to a period of Isabella's obses-

sion over death and it was to guide Maria Christina in helping her mother when Isabella was no longer alive. She wrote: "The Empress has an exceptionally tender, clinging, sympathetic disposition. Those whom she loves, she loves in very truth: she would sacrifice herself for any member of her family, or even for her friends. . . . Through suffering she has learned to know life and the world. Her advice is therefore extremely helpful. It is much to be wished that she could derive more personal advantage from her experience and her talents. But she underestimates herself and too often distrusts her own good judgment. Her hesitation gives an opening to individuals whom she takes to be wise, but who are merely self-seeking and able to effect their own ends under a cloak of zealous loyalty. . . . If you find yourself in any difficulty, I counsel you to go straight to the Empress and get her opinion there and then. When she has told you what she advises, hasten to thank her, to express conviction of the rightness of her decision and your desire that the matter should remain between herself and you. Then you may feel sure it will go no further." [3]

In another letter she wrote: "The Empress is very lively and very quick in her decisions, but she becomes mild when she speaks about the Emperor and her children. Her too great animation is her greatest fault." To ponder over what might have been is not a biographer's business, but one cannot help regretting the loss to Maria Theresa of Isabella's judgment and sympathy. When the unhappy girl was dying, Maria Theresa wrote to Kaunitz: "We are approaching the tragic end of an angel. All my joy, all my rest, died with this charming and unparalleled daughter." [4] And when a month had passed, with the bereavement still heavy upon her, Maria Theresa wrote to the Electress of Saxony: "This loss is closest to my heart. I loved her as my friend, my trusted one, everything." It might be said that, in four

sad years, Isabella gave Maria Theresa more sustenance and helpful love than any of her own daughters.

As she grew older, one of Maria Theresa's chief anxieties over her sons was for their spiritual good. The later story of Joseph shows that the religion of the Jesuits was anathema to him. When he was a child he had disliked piety, and when he gained full freedom to act as he wished he avoided churches and the offices of Catholicism as the plague. Maria Theresa's piety caused her to feel great unhappiness when she found that her sons were not similarly inclined. When Joseph was thirty-one years old, she entreated him to abandon his disbelieving ways. He seldom went to confession, left Mass before it was over, and had no personal confessor. These lapses alarmed her. Joseph went so far as to engage a secretary who scorned the sacrament, kept no fasts, and was a confessed freethinker.[5] Maria Theresa was not strong enough to change Joseph's habits, but she had more will where Leopold was concerned. The spiritual life of her second son, who was destined to be Emperor when Joseph died, was continually ordered. It was a rule that every member of the court should attend communion at Easter. Her control of Ferdinand was equally rigid. There is a letter which she sent to him, in January 1772, protesting over his worldliness. "Do not occupy yourself with persons of the theatre," she wrote. "You must not even pronounce their names outside the theatre. I do not say this for nothing; at fifty years, one has experience. I am too fond of you to see you getting into the bagatelles and foolishnesses and being conversant with the intrigues of the theatre. If they act well, be generous to them; for the rest, their names, and, even more, their anecdotes, should be ignored forever . . . if you fill your head with these bagatelles, all serious reasoning will be expelled." [6]

Even when he was twenty-four, and concerned with his

responsibilities as Governor of Modena, Ferdinand was urged to take the blessed sacrament more often and was blamed for being "very dilatory in this respect." The anxiety did not diminish as Ferdinand grew older. Again, in 1779, his mother demanded a full report of his prayers, and she went so far with Maximilian as to commission his confessor to provide her with a quarterly report on his spiritual welfare.

This pious moralizing was not confined to Maria Theresa's family. The reports of her interference in the morality of her subjects, the raids of police, in the twentieth-century manner, the spying and prowling of her agents contradict the popular conception of eighteenth-century morality. One writer quotes an astonishing story of the way in which Maria Theresa hounded a nobleman of her country who was living with an equally well-born woman, in Switzerland, without being married to her. She went so far as to propose that the villain's effigy should be beheaded in the streets of Vienna, as a lesson in morality to her people. Fortunately, this ridiculous plan was abandoned.

With all her restrictions upon living, Maria Theresa had found her one full happiness in her family life. Her love for her children and for Francis was deep enough and feminine enough to gloss over reason and to forgive much. From the days of her childhood, Francis had been her devoted friend, and when he died, in the summer of 1765, the happiness of her life came to an end.

The court had moved to Innsbruck for the ceremonies of the marriage of the Archduke Leopold. Francis had been ill for some time and was threatened with apoplexy. His sister, who was the Abbess of a convent in Innsbruck, begged him to be bled. His excuse, on the evening of his death, reveals an affectionate and dutiful thread which one has not been allowed to see often enough. Francis hid many

quiet virtues with his modesty and his silence. He said that he would not be bled then, as he had promised to sup with Joseph and would not "disappoint him." But he promised that he would be bled next day. Francis went with his son to the opera in the afternoon, feeling very ill. Before he could be helped to a sofa in a servant's room, near by, he tottered and fell into his son's arms. Francis died without protest or groan.

When Maria Theresa was brought to her husband's death-bed, she stood motionless with terror. With her eyes open, as if in a trance, she looked down on the dead body. She did not cry, but when she fell upon the corpse, she held it so fiercely that she had to be torn from it by force. In her own room she plunged herself into terrible grief and cried upon her bed for hours. No one came near her; she stayed upon her bed all night, without changing from her clothes. In the morning the physicians opened a vein in her arm, and thus relieved, she was able to weep quietly.

In the months that followed, Maria Theresa showed no inclination to govern her misery. She wished only to turn from the world and to end her unhappy life in a convent. This was not to be, but she assumed every possible outward sign of her widowhood and withdrawal from the world. Her beautiful long hair was cut and she began to wear a widow's sombre clothes and veils, which she never abandoned to the end of her life. She hung the walls of her rooms with crepe and she ordered the ladies of her court to wear black always. There was no wish to conquer her grief or to serve the memory of her love in living for those about her. Five months after Francis's death came the anniversary of their wedding. She wrote on that day to her friend Countess Enzenberg: "Only a year ago this was the happiest day of my life; it is still so today, for this happiness is deeply imprinted upon my heart and will end only with me.

Now, however, it is mingled with the bitterest pain. I have spent this day alone, shut in my room, surrounded by the pictures of our beloved master. All my hours are full of thoughts of my vanished happiness, not without bitter regret that while I possessed him, I did not make enough of it." [7]

Her wish for death now became more violent than the obsession which had ruined the happiness of her daughter-in-law. "What now remains for me and what I await solely are the death bier and the shroud, which will again unite me with him who, alone of all in the world, knew my heart, and who was the thought and purpose of my deeds." [8] As the years passed, her grief became eccentric with exaggeration. She began to dress Francis with virtues he had never possessed. She wrote of him, in the manner of the bourgeoise, as "my lord." "My heart is withered," she wrote. "I feel old, weak, discouraged." She sought relief in increased piety, which cast the final shadows of mourning upon her family and her court, and she awaited her own death "with more impatience than fear." Sentimentality was a distinct characteristic of this period, and Maria Theresa's expression of grief, although sincere in her case, was not unusual.

CHAPTER XXX

Maria Theresa's widowhood. The future of her children. The marriages of her daughters

THE LITTLE PRINCESS of the 1730s, who had made so many pious pilgrimages to the churches of Vienna, walking with downcast eyes, resumed these habits as a widow. But her piety was now tinged with disappointment and bitterness. The British Ambassador wrote that she devoted four hours of her day to prayers. Her daily program became more rigorous than ever. She rose at 5:30, dressed and heard Mass and read religious books until 7:30. From this hour until nine o'clock, she worked with her private secretary, and from then until midday she received her ministers. At twelve she received the nurses of her children and reviewed their obedience and their progress. At one o'clock she dined. Then until three o'clock she allowed herself entertainment or rest, and then she read the offices of the dead. From four until six she wrote or had audiences, and then she said her rosary. From six until nine she would "write, converse, walk," allow herself quiet amusements, or read. There

were audiences on Sundays, and in the evening she spent the time with her ladies.

Her younger children suffered under the funereal gloom, and one of them confessed to the British Ambassador that she was quite pleased when she had an operation on her cheek, since it was a "welcome distraction." If happiness died with the passing of Francis, ambition still remained, and Maria Theresa did not neglect the purpose of her great family.

Joseph's way was set and it was not likely that he would marry again. He turned to the theories of monarchic duties which he had evolved as a boy and was grimly occupied with the changes which he was to make as soon as his mother died. The second son, Leopold, who was naturally overshadowed by his brother, was now used to heal the old wound with Spain. He married the Infanta Louise, in the summer of 1765, when a magnificent fleet of Spanish ships escorted the Princess to Genoa. It was during the dreadful month of the death of Francis that Leopold and his bride were married at Innsbruck. Leopold's merits were less spectacular than those of Joseph. After he was married, he went to live in Tuscany, which was given to him under the conditions of marriage laid down by the Spanish court. There he lived happily, not always in the favour of his brother, but preparing himself patiently for the day when he was to assume the crown of the Habsburgs after his brother's death.

Ferdinand, the third son, married Beatrix, the daughter of the Prince of Modena, when he was sixteen. All these unions were part of Maria Theresa's energetic wish to strengthen the bond between the Habsburgs and the Bourbons. She was no longer fighting Frederick the Great, but the sheathing of swords did not mean that her enmity had died and she still planned her life as a defence against Prussia; she saw the strength of her house in a grand alliance with the Bour-

bons; so grand that Frederick the Great would have one mighty enemy – all Europe.

Her daughters were also drawn into the diplomatic net of Habsburg matrimony. The eldest of them to survive, Maria Anna, had grown too old for this purpose, it seemed, for she was made Abbess of a convent at Prague, where she could live in comfort and with sufficient power to console her. The next daughter to live to maturity, Maria Christina, recovered from the strange experience of Isabella's devotion and, after much opposition, married Prince Albert of Saxe-Teschen. Francis had wished his daughter to marry his own nephew, a son of the King of Sardinia. But her father had died before Maria Christina could be pressed into this unhappy union, and in her widowhood Maria Theresa did not force her daughter further. She was allowed to marry the Saxon Prince, who was appointed Governor of Hungary at the time of his wedding. Their marriage was unusually happy for a Habsburg union and it seems that both Maria Christina and her husband possessed enough character and grace to make a home as well as a court.

Both Caroline and Amalia married rulers of Italian states. The results of these unions were so terrible that one is left in doubt over the principles upon which Maria Theresa taught her daughters and advised them in their marriages. Marie Caroline married the King of Naples, in 1768, and set out upon her wedding journey armed with long letters from her mother designed to guide her in her new life. There is a great sadness in the record of Maria Theresa's wasted efforts, sitting up through the night and writing down the total of her experience to guide her daughters. She believed that her knowledge, bought so bitterly through experience, was of use to those who were to follow her. So she worked at her desk, designing advice for her fifteen-year-old daugh-

MARIA CAROLINA, QUEEN OF NAPLES

from an etching in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna

ter, who was becoming a bride before she had left her girlhood nonsense behind her. Maria Theresa wrote to the child who was about to travel to Naples:

"I do not consider you any longer a child. . . . To my astonishment I have observed that you say your prayers without the proper piety. Reprimands mean nothing to you and only lead to harsh words and bad temper. . . . I know this from strangers, who were astonished. In dressing, you are usually also bad-tempered, and in this particular case, thoughtlessness is not the least excuse. . . . Your voice, your manner of expressing yourself, are very unpleasant; you must therefore make more of an effort than others to raise your voice no more than necessary. . . . As I wish to treat you as a grown-up person, I must inform you that you will be entirely separated from your sister, the twelve-year-old Marie Antoinette. I forbid you all secrets and gossip with her. All this useless talk must stop at once, as your secrets deal only with remarks against those who are nearest to you, against the servants and your ladies. I warn you that you will be watched closely in connection with this matter and I will hold you responsible, since you are the elder and should therefore have better sense. . . . If you take the trouble to follow my suggestions, which come direct from my heart, which embraces all my children with love and is only occupied in encouraging their happiness, as far as this can be in this world, then you will be convinced that the only path by which to arrive at this goal is that of virtue." [1]

A child needing such dictatorial advice seems scarcely armed for the responsibilities of marriage to a peasant, much less a ruling prince, but Maria Theresa allowed the untutored girl to proceed to Naples, strengthening her with one more letter of advice, the chief injunction of which was against meddling in political affairs. Sympathy is all

with the girl, who might have been on her way to school instead of on her way to share a throne. Maria Theresa wrote to her daughter:

"I know all too well the burden and the danger bound up in such affairs to which you will lend yourself if you allow yourself to be drawn into them. Even if the King would wish you to take part in the matter of government it is your duty never to let this be known outwardly. . . . In every country there are dissatisfied people and in Naples it is known that among the aristocracy and ecclesiastics there are many. Listen to the followers of the King . . . but never let yourself be taken in by them too much. Never allow anyone to praise or flatter you, as it will only be at the cost of your husband. The Italians are livelier and more witty than the Germans, therefore one must be more careful with them." [2]

The advice went on and on. It is little wonder that the fifteen-year-old Princess arrived in Naples with a heavy heart. Her brother Leopold travelled with his sister, to watch her, and he wrote to his mother: "She is so excited that sometimes she hardly knows what she is saying. She is terribly animated and hasty, but it is to be hoped that this will change. Her deportment, in general, with the exception of some childish mannerisms, is good. Of course, she is so young, and if I may say so, she has never been trained to be Queen of Naples." [3]

The last phrase reveals Leopold's own anxiety over the child marriage. She cried when they came to the border and only wished to go home when the Austrians said goodbye to her. Then Caroline met her husband. "He is very ugly," she complained in her first letter home, "but one becomes used to him. As regards his character, everything is better than I was told. I must acknowledge that I love him from a sense of duty." [4]

It is not always easy to believe in the humanity of a monarch who could force her daughter into such an ordeal, when she should still have remained tied to her mother's apron-strings.[5] Caroline suffered bitterly during the initial experiences of marriage and she recalled them some time afterwards, when her youngest sister was to marry the Dauphin. "One suffers real martyrdom, which is all the greater because one must pretend outwardly to be happy," she wrote to her governess. "I know whereof I speak and I pity Antoinette, who still has this to face. I would rather die than endure again what I had to suffer. If religion had not said to me: 'Think about God,' I would have killed myself rather than live as I did live for eight days. It was like hell and I often wished to die. When my sister has to face this situation, I shall shed many tears."[6]

The fate of the Archduchess Maria Amalia was equally tragic, although her violent self-will no doubt saved her from the inward suffering which made her sister so unhappy in Naples. Amalia married the boy Duke of Parma when she was twenty-three. Ferdinand of Parma had ascended the throne when he was fourteen, and the astuteness and diligence of his advisers had not broken his boyishness. He was described as a "big, handsome young fellow, with black hair and brown skin, like his sisters." The tie with the court in Vienna, through his dead sister, Isabella, might have helped the young couple towards understanding. But Ferdinand must have been bored by his position and perhaps bored by the prospect of his marriage. He had no pride in being a ruler and he was always more at home among the common people than within his court. His chief pleasures were in hearing the church bells ring and in roasting chestnuts; pretty graces in their way, but of little use to a man who was ruling a duchy.

When Amalia left Vienna for Parma, she was also armed

with a letter of advice. There was one sound suggestion in the letter which Maria Theresa wrote for her and which poor Amalia ignored. The Empress wrote: "It is not your affair to reign, so leave these cares to others and do not burden yourself with them." [7]

There was deep understanding of her daughter's character in this advice. Amalia had been in love with the Prince of Zweibrücken, but she had not been allowed to marry him. She therefore went to Parma with resentment, which was increased when she found a young husband of weak character and little accomplishment. The court life was small and in no way grand and Amalia soon became hostile and domineering. There were signs of her dangerous independence before she had been in Parma for many months. She recalled the powerful Minister Tillot, who had been exiled, she snubbed the aristocracy, and, with the excuse of wild generosity, which was one of her engaging qualities, she filled the palace with beggars. Her will was overwhelming. She had no rights whatever, yet she openly announced her intention to rule Parma, with her mother's example to guide her. She ridiculed her husband, dominated him, and, when he issued orders, humiliated him by cancelling them. She changed the phrasing of the edicts to read, "We, my wife and I, order . . ." etc.,[8] and she wrote an astonishing letter to her chief Minister in which she said: "In my house I give orders. The Infante and I unite in this. . . . Here I possess enough power to command obedience. I am German, and I know what is due to me. Don't forget that. I can make people fear me as well as love me, so I advise you to obey." [9]

Such high-handed nonsense brought on the confusion it deserved, and the wretched young Duke, who had nobody to comfort him, wrote: "I am a child, but my wife is still more so. She has not the talents to rule a land." [10] The

wild-brained Amalia went on, inventing new diplomatic disasters every day, and in the end Maria Theresa was forced to send a Minister to Parma to try to place some sort of restraint upon her. The issues were too far-reaching to be treated lightly in Vienna. If Europe realized that Maria Theresa trained her daughters to meddle in the politics of the countries into which they married, the knowledge might prejudice Marie Antoinette's chances of success in France. Yet Maria Theresa encouraged her daughter's wish to rule. She charged the Minister who went to Parma on her behalf to inquire into finances and politics and, with frankness which she might have kept for her doctor, she told him to inquire into the sexual life of Amalia and to report to her. "I myself think," she wrote, "that my daughter must rule, but she should do so only with the co-operation of the Spanish King, the uncle, the King of France, the grandfather of the Infante." [11]

Three and a half years passed without improvement. The birth of a daughter in the winter of 1770 did not bring peace to Amalia's wild enterprises, and the Viennese Minister, Rosenberg, now resident in Parma, received further instructions from Vienna, this time coloured by the additional advice of Joseph and of Kaunitz. For a moment Amalia was contrite. But this mood soon passed and she answered the next set of instructions from her mother with defiance. All that she wished, she told the emissary, was not to be bothered by letters from Vienna or Madrid.

For some time all communication between mother and daughter ceased. Even her sisters were forbidden to write to her, and it was not until her son was born, in 1773, that letters were exchanged once more. "A reconciliation with Parma is accomplished," Maria Theresa wrote to Countess Enzenberg.[12] But Amalia continued to live as a bitter reproach to Maria Theresa's ambitions. Pity took place of

anger in Maria Theresa's heart. She thought both Amalia and her husband to be "unhappily born, as far as feelings of the heart" were concerned, and every now and then she sent one of her daughters to stay with Amalia. But the self-willed and haughty woman did not change in essentials. It was only her appearance and her spirit that broke down under the strain of her wild behaviour. When Maria Christina went to stay with her in 1775, she found her sister so altered in appearance that she barely recognized her. "No trace of the glamour, the beauty," remained. "Her beautiful figure was changed, her dress and carriage have changed even more. She is less gay, less discriminating. Her eldest daughter is the most beautiful child one can imagine, but she has a trace of melancholy so that one can only observe her with pity." [13]

In the spring of 1770 Maria Theresa already knew that the marriages of her daughters in Naples and Parma were not likely to bring either happiness or success. If she paused to see a lesson in the misery of Caroline and the haughtiness of Amalia, it was too late to profit by it and reconsider the plan to marry her youngest daughter to the Dauphin of France. The proposal had come from Versailles and not from her. This marriage was to set the seal upon her grand Bourbon ambitions and she might have considered herself in the light of greatness as she pondered over all she had done. She had been left alone with a throne when she was a girl. Without real help from her husband and inheriting a company of incompetent ministers, with an enemy who gave her no rest, and finances which kept her lands in a pinched state, she had brought up her family. She had trained them to capture power in almost every important Bourbon state. Perhaps these thoughts came to her, for, with unusual indulgence, she celebrated Marie Antoinette's betrothal with a ball in the Belvedere.

MARIE ANTOINETTE, QUEEN OF FRANCE

after a portrait by Gautier d'Agoty

On April 21, 1770, when Marie Antoinette was not yet fifteen years old, she began her long and terrible journey to Paris. Marie Antoinette travelled into a life which has been subjected to so much historical limelight that her tragedy needs little description. Once more Maria Theresa tried to hold control over her daughter, and the immense distance between Vienna and Paris did not prevent her from demanding reports of the life and conduct of her child, written secretly for her by the Ambassador in Paris.

Maria Theresa must have reproached herself many times as she considered the men to whom she had married her daughters. Seldom had princesses been sold so ruthlessly and to so little good purpose. Young Marie Antoinette turned from her lifeless and useless husband and found her chief sympathy in the two unmarried daughters of Louis XV. With them she could share scorn for Madame du Barry, who now ruled the King's old but lively heart. In them she found support for her decision not to approach the King through Madame du Barry, as was the custom. With her mother's puritanical scorn, she snubbed the mistress whom she described to her mother as "the boldest and silliest creature whom one can imagine." Her pride estranged her from all but the two old sisters. Madame du Barry complained of her conduct to the King, so that she lost his affection. This new trouble alarmed Maria Theresa. She had spent the best years of her life and had made many sacrifices to build up her alliance with Louis XV. She likewise had been obliged to pay compliments to the King's mistress and to flatter her with presents to gain the King's favour. She now tried to train her proud daughter in the way of favouring concubines without condoning their bawdiness. She wrote to Marie Antoinette, in September 1771:

"You should regard the du Barry as nothing more or less

than a woman who is allowed admission to the court of the King. You are his first subject: you owe him obedience, you must give an example to the court that it is your wish to be obedient. . . . All this is due to your wilful desire to please people who urge you on, treating you as a child, giving you gay parties on horseback or on donkeys, entertaining you with children, and providing you with dogs. These are the principal reasons which bind you, although in the long run none of these people really care for you or respect you, but they only make fun of you. You began so well, not only through your personality, but through your behaviour. Why do you spoil this good beginning? "[14]

Maria Theresa was diplomatic in her appeal to her daughter's pride and the letter encouraged a sensible reply. Marie Antoinette wrote to her mother: "I have many reasons to believe that the King does not even wish me to speak to the du Barry, as he has never spoken to me of her. He is much more friendly to me since he knows that I have refused to speak to her." Then came an astonishing sentence for a girl of fifteen to write: "You can be convinced that in everything which has to do with honour, I do not need the guidance of any man."[15]

Marie Antoinette yielded to her mother and to the entreaties of the Ambassador in the new year and addressed a few words to the King's mistress. She would do it, she said, this time; but she added: "Never again will this woman hear the sound of my voice."

Maria Theresa's unrest grew in 1774 when Louis XV died and the nineteen-year-old Dauphin ascended the throne. Marie Antoinette was then eighteen, and when she felt herself safe, as consort of the monarch, her independence increased and Maria Theresa received reports of her with alarm. "I cannot suppress my fear that the Queen rushes headlong into her destruction," she wrote to the

Ambassador in Paris. And to Marie Antoinette she complained: "You have never loved reading or anything that caused you any effort. This has often caused me much unrest and you have remained so. I hear of nothing but races and hunting in the company of young people who are not desirable, and always without the King." [16]

The wretched Marie Antoinette was already on the way to her destruction, and she had no friends to help her. Once, in the spring of 1777, her brother Joseph braved the long journey to Paris to see her. Perhaps he understood her plight. They had shared the same curriculum and they had been trained under the same authority. His report to his mother was sympathetic. "I only departed with great sorrow," he wrote, when his visit to Versailles was over. "I have become very much attached to my sister. In her I find a certain spiritedness in life which I gave up long ago, and I see in her that my own desire for life has not forsaken me. Antoine is delightful. I lived through hours and hours with her without knowing that the time was flying. It took all my strength to separate myself from her."

Joseph loved his sister, but he was not blind to her faults. He agreed that she should be "more serious," especially as he considered that she had "a clever understanding and good judgment" which often astonished him. "If she would only follow her intuitions and be less influenced by the gossip of people," he ended, "she would be perfect."

These were the remarks that he prepared for his mother.[17] He was loyal to his sister, realizing the weight of her responsibilities and the errors of her training. But he left Paris in great anxiety, and in the letter of advice which he left for Marie Antoinette, he sounded a terrible prophecy which directs us to the end of her story. Joseph wrote: "Believe me, this sort of thing cannot endure much longer.

The Revolution will be terrible if you do not prevent it."

Maria Theresa has been severely criticized for sacrificing her children to her dynastic ambitions, but in this, as in other problems in life, there are always two sides to the question. Maria Theresa considered herself and her family the servants of the state, and her deep religious convictions made her believe, perhaps falsely, that her duty to the state was to make herself and all she possessed subservient to its interests. Perhaps she felt this urge all the more because of the exceptional conditions of her inheritance through the provisions of her father's Pragmatic Sanction. Being a woman, the first woman heir to the Habsburg throne, she was also deeply impressed by a sense of obligation, which she exhibited in all the actions of her life.

Most of Maria Theresa's biographers condemn her for what they consider her heartless attitude in the matter of her disposition of her children, and especially for sacrificing her daughters purely for political reasons in these child marriages. In passing judgment, one has to take into account the practices in vogue in the eighteenth century before the spirit of enlightenment had fully penetrated and spread its influence all over Europe. Austria, always slow and backward in accepting new ideas – the last of the conservatives – still clung to the antiquated feudal customs upon the accession of Maria Theresa, and it was not until the reign of her son that these ideas were completely revolutionized. The burgherlike character of the Empress upheld the principle of absolute ownership as far as her children were concerned, and the monarchical principles instilled in her by her ancestors justified her in disposing of her family for political purposes. As she bestowed each daughter in turn on some foreign potentate, to be separated from her perhaps for life, she must necessarily have suffered, as her nature, above all, was maternal. Her sole

method of keeping in touch with her offspring was through correspondence, and this she did most conscientiously. In the age of letter-writing, which the eighteenth century was, there was no more ardent devotee of the art than Maria Theresa. Her letters fill many volumes and are of intense human interest. They portray her character and the lovable side of her nature in a more vivid fashion than any biographer can succeed in doing.

CHAPTER XXXI

Maria Theresa and Joseph rule together

FROM THE MOMENT that Joseph was appointed co-regent, after the death of his father, he began a battle against his mother's will which caused her unhappiness to the end of her life. This brooding, individualistic son, whom she had tried to form in her own pattern, now let forth all the strength of his ideas. One of the first independent actions which alarmed his mother was his disposal of his father's immense fortune. The parsimony with which Francis had filled his coffers was wasted, so far as the family fortunes were concerned. Joseph immediately gave two million gulden, which were invested in Tuscany, to be used for the good of the state in Vienna. This gesture was made without the consent or advice of his mother.

A letter written to Joseph by Maria Theresa in September 1766 reveals the constant anxiety with which she watched his inroads upon old systems.[1] He had treated Kaunitz and other ministers with scorn in a letter to the President of the High Council, and his mother protested:

"Do you think that you can treat trusted servants in this way? I greatly fear that you will fall into the hands of rascals who, in order to attain their ends, allow themselves to do what your noble soul could not endure. . . . The persons whom you yourself regard as best and who live with us, you pierce to the heart with your irony. . . . It is not the Emperor, not the co-regent, who says such biting, ironic, malicious words. They come from the heart of Joseph; this is what disturbs me and what will be the misfortune of your life, the ruin of the monarchy and of us all. . . . I have flattered myself that after my death I would live again in your heart; that your numerous family, like your states, would lose nothing through my demise, but that, on the contrary, they would gain. May I still hope for this, if you allow yourself to go on in this manner which closes itself against every tenderness, every friendship? The hero of whom you make so much, that conqueror, has he a single friend? [2] Must he not mistrust all the world? What a life it is which is cut off from all humanity! . . . A simple *yes* or *no,* a decided denial, would have been better than this long, bitter discussion in which you waste your breath and admire your own cleverness of expression. Take care that you do not fall into malice. Your heart is not yet bad, but it will become so. It is high time that you refrained from finding witticisms and spicy remarks which have no importance except to make others uncomfortable or to make them laugh, and thereby estrange all upright people from you."

Some years after Maria Theresa died, Joseph received Mozart at the palace, and when the composer had played one of his own compositions, Joseph commented: "Too many notes, my dear Mozart." Mozart was quick enough to know that his Emperor had repeated the comment of another. He was "perfectly aware from what quarter that

opinion emanated." This aptitude for repeating the epigrammatic judgments of others was one of the faults which Maria Theresa regretted in her son. She wrote to him: "A turn of speech, a joke which you find in some book or hear in conversation, you turn to your own advantage at the first opportunity, without thinking much of whether it is in place." [3]

The experience of ruling the Empire together did not help the relationship between Maria Theresa and her son. Studying the differences in their character at the distance of almost two hundred years, it is not difficult to realize that they could never be reconciled. "This indifference, this distance," she complained. "He avoids being with me whenever it is possible." She wrote to the Marquis Herzelles, when Joseph became so estranged that he sent her letters within the palace, to avoid seeing her: "Business affairs are managed from one floor to another without seeing each other. . . . You can imagine, when I have lived only for this son and have idolized him, that this is more bitter than death. . . . I hope that the bitterness which he has caused me will be atoned for in the other world, and that my sad life here below will soon end."

The student may turn to the social history of these closing years of Maria Theresa's reign and find the records of many reforms which mother and son worked upon together. But wherever good came of their co-operation, it was not born without conflict. Their wills were such that antagonism was inevitable.

Maria Theresa, fundamentally a devout Catholic, had found repose and peace of soul in her religion. She was now confronted by unrest and desire for innovations on the part of her son — a voracious exponent of enlightenment. Mother and son were each aware of the opposition of the other, suffering bitterly. One can observe that ever and

again they took pains to bridge it over, through an attempt at mutual understanding; even a tenderness on both sides is apparent in their correspondence. But their strong natures and vigorous temperaments were antagonistic, and this antagonism grew more obdurate with the passing of the years. Irritability from time to time rose to an unbearable pitch. In one of her letters to Joseph the Empress cries out: "It is terrible to be both mutually loved and tortured, without being able to please oneself." Their personalities embodied two diametrically different points of view, the conservative and the radical.

Maria Theresa, since the day of her accession, had tried to win the love of her subjects and establish a spirit of friendliness in her realm. Her people were to her like a great family. Joseph, a type of benevolent despot, held ever before him the image of the philosopher of Sans Souci, who more and more detached himself from his people and looked upon them only as so many pawns in the game of life. Since his earliest recollection Joseph had looked upon Frederick with intense admiration, Frederick, the hated enemy of his mother. The attitude of her son opened all the old wounds which "that evil man" had dealt the Empress. To be compelled to carry on in spiritual form, against her son, the struggle in which she had once laid down her weapons was a bitter blow. The daughter of the voluptuous, gay, comfortable city on the Danube had little of this so-called philosophy, a fad of the age, which maintained that one should depend on nothing and love nothing, a philosophy so alien to the care-free, pleasure-loving Viennese. This breakdown of old traditions bored bitterly into the fine filaments of Maria Theresa's life and her world philosophy.

At the end of December 1773 Joseph wished to abandon the co-regency. This his mother would not allow and in a pathetic letter she placed her case before him. "I must in-

form you," she wrote, "that all my faculties are weakening – sight, hearing, power of comprehension – and that I have fallen into errors through lack of courage and dread of mistrust, and that which I have feared all my life, indecision. Tell me what you wish, that I may do it. Nothing will be too difficult to free me from the frightful position in which I have been placed during the last six years." [4]

For a little time the strain was less terrible, but again in December 1777 Joseph sought escape. As her senses closed in on her, Maria Theresa became pathetic in her appeals. "Find fault with me, but do not hate me," she pleaded. The world she knew slowly tumbled into pieces about her. Even the poverty of war and the evil days when she had been forced to pawn her jewels to pay her soldiers had not obliged her to follow such drastic economies as Joseph introduced into the court and the government of the country. He despised magnificence and was ruthless with idlers. The staff of the court was reduced, the Swiss Guards were dismissed, and the once glorious stables were allowed to decline. His socialism guided Joseph into strange innovations. He gave the Prater to the people, so that the growing city might have a great lung, and he was so bent on the notion of its being a place *for the people* that he excused them from showing any deference to members of the royal family who went there.

Maria Theresa saw her duties in terms of history. She was the mother of her people and the guardian of the past. Although she had fostered reforms, she was opposed to change. In this lay one of the chief causes of misunderstanding with her son. Joseph was a revolutionary governor. He adored change and, unlike his mother, he had a vivid conception of the future. Their difference was not only in wills, but in essential ideas. Yet ideas in a monarch do not stir the

love of his people, and with all Joseph's advanced notions about government, he never won the loyalty which was given to his mother. With all her stubborn will, her conservatism, and her prudishness, Maria Theresa was a Habsburg monarch, untroubled by theories. This the people understood. Perhaps the most enchanting scene in which she is revealed in relationship with her people is one that occurred at the time of the birth of Leopold's first son. The ancestral voices spoke to her with gratitude, and when news reached the palace, in the evening, Maria Theresa ran out into the street, careless of how she looked, towards the Burgtheater. She went into the royal box and, without pausing to think of the players, announced in a breathless voice: "*Der Leopold hat ein Bube! Der Leopold hat ein Bube.*" Her motherliness, the broad Viennese dialect in which she spoke, and her apparent excitement smoothed away the memory of taxes and wars. Joseph's theories and innovations were dull compared with her matriarchal graces.

Joseph went on with his morose criticism of his mother and of all that she represented. "The State possesses no minister at all with the exception of Prince Kaunitz," he complained. Not one of them but Kaunitz could be praised for anything he had done for the past seven years. Joseph clung to his despotic principles. "Would it not be much better for the general good if, indeed, there was a single man who would give the others undisputed rules of conduct?" How new the voice sounds, compared with Maria Theresa's devotion to tradition, when it says: "It is thought that all that is required for the making of a good statesman is to go to Mass, pray on the rosary, confess every fourteen days, and read nothing except what the limited judgment of one's confessor places before one"! Such men would do if the State "were a cloister" and if one's neigh-

bours were "monks." It is little wonder that Maria Theresa was perpetually shocked, for such ideas savoured of the dinner-table at Potsdam.

The reforms upon which Joseph fixed his imagination were not unique, for all Europe was in the throes of the campaign for enlightenment. Every government was busy shaking off its traditions. Joseph pressed for the centralization of control, for vigorous economies by the army, for schools in Hungary and Bohemia, and for freedom of religion. "Once grant freedom of belief," he wrote to his mother, "and there will be but one religion – that of directing all the citizens equally towards the good of the State." She was horrified and she remonstrated. But her son had his own way in many affairs. He might have learned a valuable lesson from the changes he encouraged in Hungary and Bohemia. He pressed his mother to grant liberal concessions to the peasants, in 1773. Joseph had travelled among them and had observed the feudal power of the great landowners. When the peasants were relieved of taxes and given privileges, so quickly that they had not time to assimilate them, they became so drunk upon their new state that they revolted and began an insurrection which spread until it had to be put down by military force. But Joseph did not learn the lesson. He continued to ignore the advantage of homœopathic doses in reforms, and the countries of his Empire suffered accordingly.

In spite of their difference of opinion, the Empress and her successor were drawn together through many common interests. Elevation of the crown; liberation of the princely power from limitations; building up of the body of laws; expansion of the bureaucracy; greater State unity; similarity, in form of legislation, of all departments of the administration; and domestic economy: on all these points they agreed. Both she and her son emphasized the building up of State

unity in the German-Slavic lands and the unification of all the Habsburg possessions into a centralized system under an absolute ruler. One of the points about which they disagreed was the government of the Netherlands, where Joseph aroused a bitter feeling of opposition through his severe legislation. Also in the governing of the Hungarians, Joseph antagonized his people. The Queen had always cleverly appealed to their goodwill, through prudent and skilful management. Joseph's tactics in these matters were a source of great anxiety to his mother, and she warned her successor, shortly before her death, to be more cautious in his policies. The spirit of revolution which burst its bounds in France soon after the death of Maria Theresa, and was already casting its shadow over Europe in the latter part of her reign — a demonstration against tyranny and despotism and an expression of the equalizing tendencies of the age — should have been a warning to so astute a person as Joseph II, but his egoism dominated his good judgment. Mother and son stood firmly on the ground of the State Church, which had so greatly influenced the development of the Danubian Empire. They believed in the domination of the State over the Church, but Joseph drove the matter still further and wished to make of the Church an agent for serving the State.

The situation had the effect on Maria Theresa of changing her trustful, warmly lavish, and lovable nature into a character that was cold and hostile to mankind. In deep despair, this woman, once so brave, wrote in a letter to one of her children: "I belong to another time."

Although Joseph admitted the talents of Kaunitz, there came a time when the old counsellor could bear the violence of change no longer. Two circumstances combined to make him ask Maria Theresa to release him. She was bringing Starhemberg back from Paris to help him in the State Chan-

cellery. Also, he was too much a despot himself to bear with the growing power of Joseph. They were both rationalists, and they might have agreed upon principles, but rationalists seldom lie in harmony in the same nest. Also, Kaunitz was an aristocrat, determined to retain the principles upon which his class survived. Joseph was all for sweeping the aristocracy aside.

Kaunitz asked his Empress to appoint Starhemberg as his successor. "He will not only be my equal, but I heartily hope that he will far surpass me," he wrote to her. The threat of this loss was terrible for her. Kaunitz represented her own generation and her own experiences of monarchy. So many had died in the interim. Daun was no longer with her, Van Swieten had died . . . so many who had encouraged her and who had built up the machinery of her government. The impending loss of Kaunitz added new horrors to her relationship with her son, and she wrote to him, in her own hand: "You have made me very miserable for twenty-four hours. . . . After due reflection, I return this paper to you, not as a monarch, but as a friend, and I will never recognize it. . . . As a monarch I cannot allow such a step on your part, without at the same time giving you all necessary help and protection, in order to preserve your precious life. For this purpose I have had your scholars Starhemberg and Pergen here. It is for them to prove that my confidence in you has never been greater than it is now. You have seen that in the most terrible circumstances in which I have found myself my first thought was aimed at establishing your credit with my son. Nothing lay closer to my heart. It happened, if I must admit it, that in the beginning he did not feel favourable to you. . . . And you want to leave me now, in this moment. I am grateful for your former confidence. I do not recognize your earlier trust-

MARIA THERESA

after a painting by Anton Maron, 1773

worthiness and your heart in this. Is it jealousy or is it lack of respect? "

Maria Theresa's frankness and lofty appeal are shown as much in this letter as in any she wrote. She went on: "Are evil tongues or false reports responsible for this? Is it my fault, and if so, why didn't you tell me? Towards you, my faults have never been so great that I deserve to be deserted by you. . . . This is my fate: I never find support from my friends. Always I see myself abandoned by them, and in my sad life I have suffered disillusionment, which shows itself in the estrangement of those whom I trusted completely. How unfortunate it is that we have no real friends! " [5]

Kaunitz bowed before the appeal to his nobility. He paused to resent the reflection upon his motives. He disliked the charge of jealousy, but he withdrew his resignation and said that he wished to give his Empress proofs of his "unshakable devotion." He would hold the control of affairs until Starhemberg and Pergen were able to assume his offices. Maria Theresa assumes all the greatness of her character in this closing scene with Kaunitz. She begged Joseph to thank him for his offer to remain and she wrote herself to the old Chancellor to thank him.

It would be wrong to leave the succession of unhappy scenes between mother and son and the exchange of indignant letters without considering Joseph's own case. His conception of his monarchic duty was no less conscientious than his mother's, and if he fought cruelly, he fought for principles in which he believed. There were moments in which there was comparative peace and it seems that in 1775 Joseph tried to please his mother by taking an interest in her beloved Schönbrunn. The elegant palace was still the shrine of her love, although her heart was set upon

Innsbruck also, because of the mournful time there in the summer of 1765. Joseph completed some of the plans for building in the park, and the famous Glorietta, in which Maria Theresa walked in the autumn of her life and sometimes sat with her friends, was added to the lofty hill behind the palace. The Roman ruin and the Neptune fountain were all added to the gardens in 1776. It is pleasant to turn from the unending records of wrangling between mother and son and find her writing to him, upon the matter of Schönbrunn: "In small as in great things, I am only peaceful when I have your co-operation."

CHAPTER XXXII

The division of Poland

THE GAIN OF Silesia and Glatz was not enough to satisfy Frederick the Great and, almost as Prussia's signature was drying on the Peace of Hubertusburg, he turned his restless eyes towards Poland. He saw opportunities for gaining new territory in the helplessness of the aged Elector of Saxony, King Augustus III of Poland. Maria Theresa's old ally in Saxony, who had been so ruthlessly expelled by Frederick during the Seven Years' War, was near to dying. His army was too tired for new battles, and the inheritance of his Polish crown was not fixed. Frederick pondered over the state of Poland and artfully reviewed his position among the powers of Europe. The death of Elizabeth of Russia had relieved him of a virulent enemy. Catherine now ruled the great power of the east, and under her, Russia became a potential ally. Austria and France continued their ill-assorted union and they remained his enemies. England was no longer to be wooed as an ally. She was fattening upon the colonial spoils which she had taken while the rest of Europe was at war. It was obvious to Frederick that he

should turn his eyes from the west to the east, in his search for new territory and for new friends.

Poland was in a state to be exploited. She had been neglected by her Saxon King, just as Hungary unjustly complained of being neglected by the Habsburgs. Early in 1763 Frederick made his first move towards the division of Poland by writing to Catherine of Russia. At the same time Catherine approached Maria Theresa upon the matter of the succession in Poland. The vultures were stirring before the King was dead.

Of the younger royalties in Saxony, the most anxious and intelligent was the Elector's daughter-in-law, Marie Antoine, who naturally wished the crown to descend to her husband. She entreated Maria Theresa in his favour, naturally respecting her power as the wife of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. (Francis was then alive.) Maria Theresa was not impressed by Catherine's friendly inquiry over the future of the crown of Poland and she wrote to Marie Antoine: "You can imagine how greatly astonished we were by this matter. We only regarded it as a trap in order to inquire into our views." [1] Maria Theresa nevertheless sent a grateful letter to Catherine, expressing pleasure over the confidence which was shown to her in asking for her opinion. She said in her reply that she had no wish other than to establish the peace and to maintain the constitution of Poland. She thought that the Poles should be allowed to choose their kings in peace, although she considered it most desirable that she and Catherine should encourage the claims of the Crown Princess, because of her unusual talents.

When Augustus of Saxony died, in February 1763, the claims and hopes of the House of Saxony were not respected. The crown was given to Stanislaus Poniatowski and the hold of Russia on the country was established by placing

the new King under the wing of the Russian Ambassador. The crushing policy of Russian control in Poland brought great distress to the country and Catherine sought to keep the Poles in submission by combating all reforms and by encouraging non-Catholics with laws in favour of freedom of worship and admitting them to public offices. Revolt was inevitable, and the Russians suppressed it with malicious cruelty, driving many of the Poles over the border, into Turkey. This intrusion brought Turkey into the arena, and in 1768, the year of the revolt, Turkey declared war on Russia.

Maria Theresa's position during these upheavals was not easy. Perhaps she remembered her own distress at the time of her father's death, for she wrote to the Crown Princess of Saxony, who still hoped for the crown for her husband, demanding that there should be no division of the lands of Poland. "You must retain the whole kingdom," she wrote. "It would be a humiliation and an exposure of your own interests if you were queen of only a few scattered territories." [2] This letter was written before the revolt in Poland, and although it showed sympathy for the Crown Princess, the fact was that Maria Theresa cared less for the fortunes of the Saxon house than she pretended. She was old enough in diplomacy now not to fall into the pitfalls of frankness, and she moved with care. She promised nothing and, through the months of playing a waiting game, she reflected upon the dangers of interfering overmuch in an affair which might end in a fresh war for Austria. Her letters to the Crown Princess of Saxony became less friendly and they gradually assumed the impersonal phrases of official documents. She disliked the possible outcome of the crisis and announced to the harassed Crown Princess that "the Polish affairs with which she had formerly been glad to occupy herself had now become a source of bitterness to

her."[3] It was no longer possible to hope that a Saxon prince would occupy the Polish throne. The death of the Elector of Saxony removed any reason there might have been for Maria Theresa's making sacrifices for his house. Austria had not gained anything in previous years because Saxon princes ruled in Poland. The Poles had never joined with her in her campaigns and they had remained neutral during the Seven Years' War. It was enough if Maria Theresa could prevent the division of Poland between Russia and Prussia, and this became her aim.

Kaunitz did not welcome this peaceful acceptance of Poland's difficulties and he devised a wild plan by which Austria was to join Frederick and the Turks against Russia and divide the spoils. He had even thought it possible that in return for Polish territory Frederick might be induced to give back Silesia. But this diplomatic dream did not take Frederick's will into account and it soon passed. On this occasion Maria Theresa consented to act in agreement with her son and they decided that neither their diplomatic fortunes nor their army could bear the strain such a course might put upon them. It was Joseph who dismissed Kaunitz's plan. "Leave Russia and Turkey to come to blows," he wrote to Kaunitz, "but let us reinforce our military strength, and, when the two rivals have weakened one another, the Porte will pay us highly for our help. Then we will hold the Russians in check, if they encroach towards the Danube, and we will leave Frederick a free hand in Poland."[4]

It was not easy for Maria Theresa to define her policy as she saw Russia's growing dominion over Poland. The humiliation of Poland might not be a matter of concern to her, but the attendant growth of Russia was an alarming menace to her peace of mind. There were personal reasons, also, for her concern.[5] She hated Catherine, upon the

strength of the rumours about the morals of the Russian court. In turn, Catherine laughed at Maria Theresa and made fun of her piety. Poniatowski, who had been given the throne of Poland, had been a favourite of Catherine's and this title could mean only one thing to Maria Theresa's respectable mind. As a woman, Maria Theresa was offended by Catherine's morals, and this added to her wish to defeat Russia's ambitions in Poland. It led also to her consent to the division of Poland. She expressed her view of Catherine's growing power in a conversation with the English Ambassador. "It would indeed not be a bad thing," she said, "if the poor King of Sweden could gain a little of the territory which he has lost in recent years, for it will be to nobody's advantage if Russia lays down the law to Sweden and rules there unmolested." [6] She did not bow to the division of Poland without a terrible moral struggle, but it is nevertheless true that she braced herself to a momentary alliance with Frederick the Great and consented to an act which many historians have described as the most disgraceful of her reign.

In a letter to Grimm in 1770, Catherine expresses her view of Maria Theresa's character and the part she took in these transactions: "As far as the dear worthy Lady Prayerful is concerned, I can say nothing more than that she suffers from severe attacks of covetousness and imperiousness. To weep is a sign of repentance, but since she always holds fast to what she has and quite forgets that not to do a thing again is the best kind of repentance, there must be something stubborn in her bosom. I fear it must be the original sin of Adam which plays this crazy comedy. But what does one ask more from such a woman? If she is faithful to her husband, she has all the virtues and needs nothing more." On the other hand, there is some balm to Maria Theresa's Catholic conscience in the answer of Pope

Clement XIV, whom she consulted and who said that the invasion and the division of Poland were not only political necessities but also in the interests of religion. For the spiritual advantage of the Church it was necessary, he said, that the court of Vienna should extend its dominion in Poland as much as possible.

Maria Theresa's co-regent became the guiding force in the acts which followed the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski and the consequent growth of Catherine's power. Joseph was not weighed down by his mother's old-fashioned motives. She might wish to assume the role of mediator and perhaps accept any profits that might come by it, but Joseph was not so confused in his aims. He had always declared his admiration for Frederick and he was not playing false to his ethics, even if he was disloyal to his mother's wishes, when he accepted Frederick's invitation to talk over the vexing question of Poland's future. For the first time in the century, Prussia's aims and Austria's were one. They both wished to stem the tide of Catherine's power and for both of them the division of Poland was an advantage.[7]

Maria Theresa's emotions when she was obliged to consent to the meeting between Frederick and her son are not recorded. She had played an important part in the preceding negotiations with all the powers, and the documents which survive in the archives of Vienna show that almost every dispatch was revised by her and strengthened with her own postscripts. It is easy to see that she faced the problems with diplomatic skill and care. But to consent to a meeting between Frederick and her son was a different matter. It involved a force beyond her merits and talents as a sovereign; it stirred the great depths of her hatred, which did not change as she mellowed towards death. Frederick had been the Satan of her existence,[8] and every important prejudice of her life had to be swept aside when

she allowed her son to travel to Silesia and meet Frederick at Neisse, on August 25, 1769. That their meeting was to be on Silesian soil must have made her potion all the more bitter to swallow.

The events of Maria Theresa's century were marching beyond her comprehension and beyond her control. "I would much prefer to remain entirely out of this," [9] she wrote to her General Mercy. With so much to remember, she must have been amazed by the reports of the meeting at Neisse; of Frederick's greeting to her son and of his surprising declaration that the day was the happiest in his life; of the sly essay at graciousness when he told Joseph that the real interests of Prussia and Austria would be served "rather in seconding than destroying each other." And how foreign Joseph's assertion must have seemed to her, when she learned that he told Frederick that Silesia no longer existed for the House of Austria! Frederick and Joseph agreed to correspond without the intervention of their ministers and they signed a convention of reciprocal neutrality in the event of war between England and France.

The success of the Russian navy and troops against Turkey brought danger nearer and nearer to Austria, and Maria Theresa was obliged once more to look to her defences. Soldiers were sent to the frontiers and magazines were strengthened. In view of the fresh conquests of the Russians, the time had come for Frederick and Joseph to confer once more, and this time, with the help of Kaunitz, Joseph met Frederick at Mährisch Neustadt, in Moravia. There was no longer any need to dress up their common interest with fine phrases. Russia was a terror to them both, and their safety lay in alliance. Again Kaunitz saw the solution in extravagant shape, planning his proposals upon his own ambitions rather than upon his expectations. He asked Frederick to join the House of Austria, by force of arms, in re-

ducing Russia. Frederick would not go so far, but he agreed to join with Austria in inducing Russia and Turkey to come to terms. It was not part of his plan to rush into war or to commit himself to support Austria. His plan was to grasp his share of Poland and to use Austria's fear of Russia towards that end.

There is no proof in Frederick's reminiscences that the plan for the division of Poland was his. But there is ample evidence to show that it was Frederick who first spread the map of Poland upon the table, at Mährisch Neustadt. Bending over it, Joseph and Frederick decided upon their preposterous project; they outlined the territory which they should divide.

In the final division, over which Maria Theresa expressed reluctance, Austria and Russia behaved as dishonestly as was possible and, however much Maria Theresa's conscience may have pricked her, she was no less greedy when the lands were being divided. Poland was so broken now, by intrigue, rebellion, and poverty, that she was easy prey to the dividing-knife. Russia took the northeastern part of Poland, including Polish Livonia, parts of the palatinates of Vitebsk, Polozk, Minsk, and all Mstislavl. Prussia annexed West Prussia, excepting Danzig and Thorn, thus gaining a corridor to its eastern provinces. Austria obtained the former Silesian estates of the Duke of Auschwitz and South Poland, as well as Little Poland, excepting Cracow, and the greater part of East Galicia. In the second division of Poland, which occurred during the reign of Joseph II, Austria obtained "Red Russia," without the Chelmerland, and West Pordolrein to the river Podhorze – that is, Galicia and Lodomeria. Russia took the northeastern part of Poland, including Polish Livonia, and White Russia.

Our chief interest lies in considering the way by which Maria Theresa salved her conscience in the brigandage.

Although she gave her name to the division in the end, she made many protests during the negotiations. "At my age," she wrote to Kaunitz, "one has riper judgment. After the dreadful wars which I have had to conduct, I know what is to be expected. My tears testify to that which my hand and my heart make clear to me. Peace alone and no regrets in the future is my conviction." Joseph and Kaunitz were less conscience-stricken by the aims upon Poland and they agreed that Austria should oppose any advance of Russia towards Constantinople or across the Danube. The complications between the powers are not important now and they have full record in the documents of the time. But it is necessary to trace Maria Theresa's changing mind through the events of these last years, when she tried so hard to believe that the world could still be governed with a little morality.

Maria Theresa's hatred of Catherine grew upon new proofs of her duplicity. While Catherine was pretending that she desired peace and that she did not wish to take any of Poland, she was already plotting with Frederick, yet ignoring his real strength. She was as strident and self-assured as Frederick himself had been, thirty years before, when he planned his invasion of Silesia. "What does this woman think," he said of Catherine, "that I will work for her like a slave without gaining something in the matter?" Maria Theresa was equally incensed over Russia's successes. "The unheard-of ventures of the Russians drive me to the greatest anger," she wrote, and when Kaunitz and Joseph agreed to support Turkey, in return for promises of territory and payment of sums of money, Maria Theresa revealed all the confused and sad depths of her nature in her remonstrance. "I take money very unwillingly from these people," she wrote. And in another letter she let all the force of her despair find expression: "I am so greatly de-

pressed by our condition that I think of it day and night in order to find a remedy. . . . Now, after the false steps which we have taken and which I always regarded as such, since the advance of the troops and the unlucky agreement with the Turks, it is no longer possible to retrace our steps on our former path. . . . Should we even obtain the promised part, even if they give us Wallachia, yes, even Belgrade, I would still consider it too dearly bought since it is purchased at the price of our honour, the reputation of the monarchy, our good realm, and our religion. Since the beginning of my unlucky reign we have always prided ourselves on the honourable and just accomplishment of our duties. This won for us the trust – yes, I dare say so, the wonder of all Europe, and the respect of even our foes. In one year all this has been lost. I confess that I could hardly endure the situation and that nothing in the world has caused me more pain than the loss of our good name. Unfortunately I must acknowledge that we deserve this. I only wish that I knew in what manner we could most rapidly extricate ourselves from this unfortunate situation." [10]

Maria Theresa had always been able to reconcile her ethics with her aims in the past. She had never seen the political demands of Austria as unjust or immoral, but now her conscience turned against chicanery and compromise. Nevertheless, the schemes of Joseph and Kaunitz went on. In February 1772 Russia and Prussia agreed upon the division of Poland and they invited Austria to take her part. Maria Theresa had to bow to the overwhelming forces against her. "I find that there is nothing more to do now," she wrote. "But I can find no peace. . . ."

Her protests were in vain. "I must acknowledge that never in my life have I suffered such pangs as these," she had written to Kaunitz during the negotiations. "I feel shame to show my face. . . . I know well that I am weak

and friendless, and for this reason I suffer events to take their course, but my spirit is utterly vexed." "Where are the truth and faith on which everything once depended?" she asked.[11] She made one fine protest, at the end. When the document announcing the acquisition of her Polish territory was placed before her, she read the phrase "just acquisition." She crossed out the word *just* before she signed it.

The view taken by Frederick the Great was not lost in such high thinking. Maria Theresa had added to her Empire, territory occupied by two million new subjects and he could not accept her protests as genuine.[12] "She is always in tears," he wrote, "yet she is always ready to take her share."[13]

Nothing hurt Maria Theresa more than the loss of her good reputation, which she suffered at the sharing of the plundering of Poland. This unholy deed, which she regarded as the blemish of her reign, cost her many years of her life, as she told her children. She wept, and yet she took what did not belong to her. She had been driven to the decision by her son and Kaunitz, but the thought that Russia and Prussia would enrich themselves while she remained idle was a controlling motive. Frederick the Great and "that evil woman" Catherine, on the throne of Russia, called at the time the Semiramis of the North, must have smiled sarcastically at the hypocrisy of their devout female enemy.[14]

The division of Poland was not the last of the great events of Maria Theresa's reign. She was still to wrestle once more over Bavaria. But her final acceptance of the division of Poland was a signal for her departure from the affairs of Europe. It was a sign of the great changes which had come during her reign. She had come to the throne in a day when the possession of lands was dependent upon rights and in-

heritance. These were often corrupted, it is true, but the crowns of the early part of the century had relied upon right for their strength, however much they depended upon might to support them. The voice from the north had brought a new message. Frederick the Great had changed the order and he had given a new creed to the countries of Europe. They fell or survived according to their acceptance of his creed. By accepting her portion of Poland, Maria Theresa had joined Frederick's company, however much anguish she may have suffered in doing so. The way was prepared for a new conception of monarchy and the time had come for Maria Theresa to depart, with the ghosts of her age and the remnants of her principles.[15]

CHAPTER XXXIII

Joseph's attempt to annex Bavaria. Threat of war with Prussia. Peace of Teschen. Maria Theresa as peace maker. Joseph's meeting with Catherine the Great

LATE IN 1777, when the Polish trouble had subsided, Austria turned her eyes upon Bavaria. They had lived peacefully side by side since 1745, when the young Elector of Bavaria had abandoned his claims to the Imperial crown in favour of Francis. His reign had been successful, for Maximilian was a good man, trained upon Jesuit principles and willing to introduce reforms for the benefit of his people. From 1745 to 1777, the year of his death, Bavaria was a simple and earnest country, contented with its own prosperity and not tempted to the wars and territorial greed from which she had suffered in the earlier part of the century.

Now that Austria was free from immediate danger from Frederick and now that she was prosperous, with Polish lands added to her dominions, a rich treasury, and an army

of 200,000 men, she was able to turn her thoughts to the Bavarian states which she had always coveted. The Elector was dying of smallpox and the hour was ripe for action, for the inheritance of his crown was uncertain. He had no children to establish on his throne. Austria had made one diplomatic attempt to gain his Electorate in the marriage between Joseph and the unhappy Maria Josepha. But she had died, without children, and the plan had therefore failed. When Maximilian died, in December, Joseph and Kaunitz were able to revive the old Austrian hope, in spite of Maria Theresa's wish for peace. She was old now and she dared not face new battles. "In God's name," she pleaded, "take only what we have a right to demand! I foresee that it will end in war. My wish is to end my days in peace." She spoke to unwilling listeners, and Joseph and Kaunitz went on with their plan.

It was possible for Austria to carry out her greedy scheme without war, for in January 1778 the new Elector, Charles Theodore, signed secret pacts with Austria, recognizing her claim, through vague historical proofs. Charles Theodore had no legitimate sons and the price paid by Austria for her concessions was in privileges and settlements for his natural children.[1]

So far, Austria's peaceful conquest of Bavaria was simple and Joseph and Kaunitz had every reason for self-satisfaction. But there were other powers to be considered and Kaunitz had deceived himself when he imagined that Russia, France, and England were too busy with their own affairs to protest over his action. Kaunitz repeated the mistake which had so often marred his ambitions. He acted without fully considering the mentality and will of his adversaries. Frederick was not too old to protest and France was unwilling to support Austria's action.

When Frederick had met Joseph at Neustadt in 1770, he

had liked him.[2] Kaunitz had bored him for a while, but he had admitted that the humourless old Chancellor had also "amused" him "quite a bit." Joseph interested him more and he was half pleased to note the signs of his influence upon the young ruler. "The Emperor . . . thinks of playing a great role in Europe," Frederick wrote to Voltaire. At the first sign of the fulfilment of this ambition, in Bavaria, Frederick turned from half-admiration to alarm. He would not abide an understudy in the European tragedy.

In this fresh act of aggression Austria had every voice in Europe against her, and if Joseph was able to feel that a copy of Frederick's cloak was upon his shoulders, he was also obliged to suffer Frederick's loneliness. He tried to gain the consent of Louis XVI to the annexation of Bavaria by giving him part of the Austrian Netherlands. He failed in this and found himself face to face with Frederick's wrath, no less savage because he was now an old man. Russia, Prussia, and France were all alarmed by the sign of Austria's increased strength. With Bavaria under her thumb, she would crystallize her power as it had never been before.

There was one more figure to be considered in the new diplomatic alarm. The heir to the crown of Bavaria was the Duke of Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld and he naturally protested against Austria's action. This time Frederick tried the part of peacemaker and placed a conciliatory plan before Austria. The gentle scheme of give and take was refused and Maria Theresa's soldiers marched into Bavaria and possessed the areas which she claimed.[3]

This time Frederick and Maria Theresa changed voices. Moral indignation governed the talk at Potsdam and Frederick, forgetting his own record of wickedness, wrote of Austria's "fraudulent policies" and said that Joseph's claim on Bavaria was that of a "highwayman and robber,"

"who puts a pistol to a traveller's throat and demands his purse."

Frederick took Bavaria's cause upon his own shoulders, though not unselfishly, for he was afraid of Austria's encroachment into the heart of Germany and he intended to bridle her "ambition and despotism." The old and terrible forces were let loose once more and, with Joseph at their head, eighty thousand Austrian soldiers moved into Bohemia and Moravia, which were on the way to Prussia. In July, Frederick retaliated and entered Bohemia with one hundred thousand men. At the point of battle, it was Maria Theresa's will that saved the peace of Europe. Her last great gesture in the world of affairs was in the cause of peace, and, with all the strength of her early will, she acted alone. She began negotiations for peace with Frederick without consulting her impetuous son.

Maria Theresa had argued against Joseph from the first day of his aggression against Bavaria. When dissension reached the point of mobilization of the army, she pleaded: "The sword once drawn, negotiations will become impossible. The well-being of thousands upon thousands of men, the existence of the monarchy, and the preservation of our house are at stake." [4]

The last phrases of her appeal show Maria Theresa as an aged woman more clearly than anything written at the time. "I am not saying this out of . . . personal cowardice," she wrote, "I still possess the same forces I had thirty years ago, but I cannot lend a hand to the ruin of my house and my states." [5] The first part of this letter was in the handwriting of one of her secretaries. She added with her own pen: "If the war breaks out, do not count on me at all. I shall retire to the Tirol, and there finish my days in isolation, bewailing the unhappy destiny of my house and my people." [6]

Joseph marched on. His own voices were too thunderous in his ears for his mother's advice to influence him and, when he came to Bohemia, he waited upon one bank of the Elbe, facing Frederick upon the other, flirting with the initiative of attack.

Then came the last flood-tide of Maria Theresa's will. While the great generals of Prussia and Austria sat upon opposite banks of the river, week after week, she swept aside every ambition and, with perfect sincerity, wrote to Frederick as "a mother of a son in the war."

Now Joseph turned from the role of conqueror to that of naughty boy and, as he complained in his bitter reproach of his mother, "nothing more dishonourable, more injurious, and more destructive could have happened." His brother Maximilian was with him and bore the brunt of Joseph's complaints. He wrote to his mother of her "incredible negotiation" with Frederick, but he could not save himself from the almost ridiculous scene of which he was the central figure.[7] He was a commander, with an army, drawn up on a battlefield and faced by an enemy. But he was without a battle because Frederick and Maria Theresa preferred now to resort to still one more war of paper.

Joseph's first essay at war made him little more than a buffoon among the powers, among his subjects, and among his soldiers. He had begun valiantly, sharing hardships with his men, courting their friendship, and marching shoulder to shoulder with them towards battle. Now he returned, cutting a pathetic and ludicrous figure, a soldier with a wooden sword, against whom the soldiers grumbled and the people of Vienna invented bitter jokes. Joseph returned to the gloom of Vienna and on the way he wrote to his mother, accepting her will.

"I implicitly subscribe to everything," he said. Joseph

had to accept the fact that he had contributed still further to Frederick's power in Europe and that he had, through his foolhardiness, begun the decline of Austria's prestige. He had also added one more burden to his mother's pride, for she was obliged to accept the hated Catherine of Russia as mediator – a role which Catherine played with relish, sending her representative towards the border with twenty thousand soldiers, so that she might seem strong as well as peaceful. For the first time Russia was asked to be the arbiter in European affairs, and Catherine realized that it was a great occasion.

In a letter of Maria Theresa to her daughter Marie Antoinette, dated August 6, 1778 and written from Schönbrunn, she says, referring to her unhappiness on the occasion of signing the treaty terminating this war: "Madame my dear daughter, Mercy is charged to inform you of my cruel situation, as sovereign and as mother. Wishing to save my State from the cruelest devastation, I must, no matter what it costs, retire from this war, and as mother I have three sons who are in the greatest danger . . . not being accustomed to this kind of life. In signing the peace at this hour I shall have the recognition of the great majority, but in doing so I am making the King of Prussia greater. . . . I confess my head turns and my heart has already for some time been entirely annihilated." She begs Louis XVI to help her in her distress by making a *show* of sending troops, as she said, but these she did not receive. In her letter to Louis XVI she confesses that there is a rift between her and her son on account of the pacific negotiations of which she was the cause. Secretly, however, she blamed Joseph for his imprudence in forcing the situation and her minister Kaunitz did not conceal from Breteuil, the French Ambassador in Vienna, that he, Kaunitz, shared the same sentiment. The Queen tried to put on a calm front: "One can

be sad," she said, "but never beaten; our cruel enemy would rejoice too much." When alone, she suffered and wept bitterly. Marie Antoinette, who realized her mother's sad position, could do little to assist her, since she recognized that in France public opinion, either through conviction or on account of fashion, was all in favour of Frederick. It was France whom Catherine had asked to be a mediator in this peace and in the negotiations. The French tried to cover as honourably as possible the false step taken by Austria. For his efforts the French Ambassador received the sincere recognition of Maria Theresa. The peace was signed May 13, 1779, the birthday of Maria Theresa.[8]

Austria was given the part of Burghausen, known as East Upper Austria, the Inn District. She was obliged to abandon her claim to Bavaria and to help Prussia to acquire Bayreuth and Ansbach. Joseph had gained little territory and no glory from his first great enterprise as a soldier, but he was wise enough to learn his lesson. The balance of power was changed, and in the future Joseph knew that he must look towards the now powerful Catherine and not to Louis XVI for support.[9]

For Maria Theresa, the struggle ended when the terms of peace were signed, ending the Bavarian war. Frederick made a poor effort at the role of gallant on this occasion and, reminding Maria Theresa that the day was her birthday, he ordered all his troops occupying Austrian lands to withdraw at once. Maria Theresa had never relished peace so much before. She was deep in sorrow and disappointment and she spoke and wrote as if it were the end. She wrote to Kaunitz, after solemn Mass in St. Stephen's: "Today I have ended my career with a Te Deum."

The effect of the peace with Teschen was to make the German states regard Prussia as their leader. Frederick had been the protector of the Bavarian rights against the Holy

Roman Empire, and the "Deutsche Fürstenbund," soon after organized by Frederick (1785), was a union of the North German states which led to the foundation of the Second German Empire in Versailles in 1871. The Peace of Teschen meant the ultimate defeat of Maria Theresa.[10]

In the years following the death of Maria Theresa, Joseph had to pay still more for his attack upon Bavaria. When he was alone in power, no longer hampered by his mother's pacific wishes, Joseph enticed the Elector of Bavaria to give him Upper and Lower Bavaria and adjacent territory, in exchange for the Netherlands, which were so far from Vienna that they had always been governed and defended with great difficulty. The project was opposed and abandoned, but this heartless bargaining over his subjects had its inevitable effect upon the Netherlands. The people overthrew their government and created the Belgian Republic. These events came after Maria Theresa's death and they do not belong to her story. But it is important to glance, for a moment, at the result of Joseph's plunge into Bavaria and to realize that he lost the Netherlands because of his greed, and only helped to strengthen Bavaria and make it possible for her to withstand Austria's strength up to the time when she was drawn into the schemes of Bismarck, in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Maria Theresa was able to console herself for the part she had played before Teschen. "I am overjoyed," she wrote. "Everyone knows that I have no partiality for Frederick, but I have to do him full justice, and recognize that he has acted nobly. He has promised me to make peace on reasonable conditions, and he has kept his word. For me it is an inexpressible happiness to have prevented a great effusion of blood." Joseph showed himself to be more like Frederick than ever. Having failed in action, he took to moralizing over the state of man. "Live contented like a

wise man," he wrote. "Enjoy all the charms of your private station, and by no means envy the happiness of kings."

In the spring of 1780 Joseph gained the chief advantage from the error he had made in regard to Bavaria. Catherine of Russia was less and less inclined to continue her alliance with Frederick, and events were fortunately arranged, for, after a moment of anger against him, she went on a journey to western Russia, whither Joseph travelled to meet her. "You can imagine how such a project appealed to me," Maria Theresa wrote, when she was obliged to consent to the plan for his journey. She added that the character of the Empress of Russia filled her "with aversion and remorse." [11] But the meeting between Catherine and Joseph was almost gay with success, in spite of Maria Theresa's fears. Catherine rejected his formal greeting and held him to her bosom. They found it easy to deride the senile conqueror at Sans Souci and their talks were so animated that they agreed to continue them, not in the miserable town which was their meeting-place, but in St. Petersburg. So Joseph followed at Catherine's heels, and as the result of their meeting, a friendship was made – a friendship which animated Joseph to the end of his life, but which brought disaster to Austria in the end.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Maria Theresa's courage. Her influence on the history of Austria. Illness and death

MARIA THERESA'S LIFE closed upon the theme of courage. Historians may belittle her judgment on many occasions and they may turn from the story of her daughters' child marriages with disgust. But if the study of character is more important in a biography than the record of acts, no one can leave the story of the Empress without admiring her spirit and respecting her for her courage.

Royal persons are trained to expect death at any moment and Maria Theresa was never greatly perturbed when attacks were made upon her life. In 1772, when a man tried to assassinate her, she wrote to the Governor of Lower Austria: "The man must be either a fool or crazy. If one wishes to carry out such an act, one does not write about it and allow time for investigation. All this convinces me that one should not make this affair more important than it is. . . . This does not worry me and I have not acquired any grey hairs because of it."

In the last years of her life a plot was discovered in Vienna: ten young Swiss planned to kill Maria Theresa, and Kaunitz urged her to arrange for special police protection against conspirators. "Don't do anything," she answered. "There have often been such attempts which never came to anything."

One is reminded, once more, of the likeness between Maria Theresa and Queen Victoria. The strain of Hanoverian courage which sustained Queen Victoria against many attacks upon her life is not very different from the complacency with which the Empress met similar situations.

The theme of courage survived even Joseph's enmity and will, to the end. As life closed in about her, Maria Theresa became more and more tremendous as an illustration of the force of character. She was loved by her people, who forgot the heavy tolls she had exacted from them. When she almost died of smallpox, Vienna showed the accumulation of its love. There was every proof that her simplicity had touched their hearts, as Frederick's despotism in Prussia and Joseph's enlightenment could never do. For days the city was hushed in prayer. All through the night, lights burned in the churches while the people prayed; thousands of them pressed anxiously against the façade of the Hofburg, as their parents had done in May 1717, when she was born. She recovered and the people believed that their prayers had been answered.

During the summer of 1780 Joseph was travelling in Europe. His mother never wholly approved of these adventures, especially when they took him to Protestant countries. "I wish that these journeys would once and for all come to an end," she wrote to Marie Antoinette. "It becomes worse every year, and increases my sorrow and anxiety at a time when in my age I need aid and consolation."[1]

The time had come for Maria Theresa to die. She was too old and tired to comprehend the changes which stirred about her, even if she could have discarded her prejudices, to admit the frightening iconoclasm which flourished all over Europe. The age to which she belonged was over. Elegance was to fade and dignity was to become shabby. The Marquis de Jouffroy was already working upon his experiments in steam. His first boat was to move across the water five years after Maria Theresa died. The first European balloon was to rise into the air and discover a new world. These were the signs which Joseph would understand, but they were not for her. Maria Theresa's heart slowly gave up the fight, and her once graceful body, which had given shape to her billowing dresses, was fat and tired and covered in mournful black. She breathed with difficulty, she walked slowly and with great effort, and she asked for more and more iced lemonade. She was tortured by a thirst which could not be quenched. The once fair cheeks, which had spurred diplomats to poetic phrases in their dispatches, were yellow. It was so painful for her to breathe that she ordered more windows to be opened, day and night. These were the physical signs of the end. Her spirit was also tired and she was willing to die. "Evil and self-interest alone rule," she wrote to Greiner.[2] She was only sixty-nine, but she considered herself old and exhausted. All was now an effort to her. In the vault of the Capucine Church her vast sarcophagus was waiting for her. Sometimes they carried her there, along the passages which led from the street, to a high window from which she looked down upon the ornate coffin in which Francis lay. She liked to ponder over her mournful state and her loneliness.

Joseph had no patience with this old-fashioned doting upon the dead. But his mother liked to go there and be with

the melancholy rows of coffins. In one was Countess Fuchs, who had loved her so much when she was a child. It was right that she should lie there, for she had been one of the family in all but name. And there was the coffin of Isabella of Parma, whom she had loved so much. Perhaps, if she had lived, she might have softened Joseph's heart. Maria Theresa was unhappy if she ever scolded him, even now. "No sooner have I reprimanded him than I am filled with pity that I have brought him any sorrow," she wrote. ". . . He has become very silent. He seeks seclusion."

In her loneliness she went to the vault more and more, and once she was lowered in a chair so that she could sit in the dim shadows near to her husband's bier. The rope broke just before the chair touched the stone floor and a poor man rushed to her, fearing she would fall. But she turned his distress aside with a gentle word. "Francis wishes to hold me," she whispered.

In November she was too ill to go there any more. She made every preparation to die. All her soldiers were to receive a month's wages. Then she made one valiant effort to live. On November 8, Joseph and Maria Christina planned a pheasant shoot, and Maria Theresa insisted upon going, watching the sport from an open wagon in the rain. But the sign of her old spirit was false. She returned to the Hofburg and slowly grew weaker. She exclaimed: "God grant that these sufferings may soon terminate, for otherwise I know not if I can much longer endure them." But her courage did not fade. "My firmness and constancy have not yet abandoned me," she said to her son Maximilian. "Address your prayers to heaven, so that I may preserve my tranquillity to the last moment." Her fear was that she might descend into a stupor from which she could not make her confession, and she ordered the doctors to tell her the truth. She alone remained in command of

her emotions. Even Joseph cried so that she pleaded with him to be calm. And when her children wept beside her, after she had received the last sacrament, she blessed them, but told them to "retire into another compartment." She wished them, she said, to recover their spirits. She had dressed to receive the sacrament and she had knelt, as she was accustomed to do on Holy Thursday, her head covered by a black veil.

Even on the last night she kept Joseph beside her, signing documents and writing letters of gratitude to Kaunitz and to the Hungarian people. She was deeply grateful, she said, for the blessings she had received. At last Joseph begged her to sleep, but she answered: "In a few hours I shall appear before the judgment seat of God, and would you have me sleep?" And then: "I do not wish to be overtaken by death. I wish to see it come."[3] She spoke German to her daughters before she died. Gradually losing consciousness, her last words to Joseph were spoken in French, the language of the court. It was raining, as Joseph remarked to his mother. "Yes," she said casually, "it is indeed frightful weather for a journey as long as the one before me." Her life was complete. She expressed its spirit when she said: "I fought with all my might and risked everything and strained every nerve to uphold the principles of my youth, the fear of God, justice, kindness and painstaking care, and the conviction that nothing more unfortunate could happen to my poor inherited lands than to fall into Prussian hands." She had been loyal to this ideal, from the beginning to the end.

At nine o'clock in the evening of November 29, 1780 Maria Theresa died. Vienna turned to grief, and the people who passed the lordly bier on which she lay remembered only her goodness, her charity, and her kindliness. She was interred in the sarcophagus with her husband. An

Empress and an age had passed into history, and everywhere in Europe, in courts and barracks and parliaments, men speculated about the new power that had come to Joseph's hands, and wondered which way the young eagle would fly, now that he was independent and able to fly alone.

EPILOGUE

IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY we see the end of the struggle that began almost two hundred years ago when Frederick the Great invaded Silesia. The day he crossed the border into Maria Theresa's precious land was terribly ominous in the history of Europe. Frederick, whom Maria Theresa described as a "bad man," gave a new, Machiavellian conception of a philosophy of State to the world, and Maria Theresa lived long enough to see princes, like her own son, and thinkers, like Goethe, embrace the Prussian idea.

The power of the new Germany, based upon obedience rather than personal freedom, can be said to have been born during Frederick's first campaign. It was the fulfilment of the German Reformation, which made "God out of a worldly taskmaster" and a "taskmaster out of God," and slowly, through two hundred years, the fight has gone on. Frederick the Great, Nietzsche, Bismarck, and the more violent reformers under Herr Hitler have all spread the philosophy of positive force, iron obedience elevated as a virtue, to combat the southern philosophy of abstract power and personal freedom.

This was the fight that Maria Theresa and Frederick began, between the ancient Habsburgs and the upstart Hohenzollerns. Frederick became the symbol of enlightenment, but this enlightenment made no appeal to conservative Maria Theresa, and when she thought of Frederick, it

was as a military menace and not as a scholar or a philosopher. God was his intelligence, and his people were his instruments. This conception of monarchic power Maria Theresa could never understand. She loved power and respect, but she did not wish to stand alone. The stern, domineering sovereign of the north was repellent to her and, with all her mistakes of judgment and her obsession over revenge against Frederick, it is true that she held her inherited lands together, with the exception of Silesia, rather as a mother guarding her children, as a matriarch, protecting those who depended upon her. She gave the Austrian people their first national conscience and, for the first time in the history of her Empire, the scattered and divided emotions of the people of her lands were drawn towards one centre. She achieved her greatest influence with unwritten laws, depending upon her humanity, her respect for personal effort, and her belief in the capacity of the individual. Frederick was the enemy of this freedom, and unwritten laws were, to him, full of dangers. Nietzsche said that it was the Prussians' inheritance to thrive upon obedience. Frederick had exploited this natural wish for discipline. To Maria Theresa, Frederick was not only a "bad man," but also a marauder.

In Professor Srbik's recent book on German unity, *Deutsche Einheit*, the brilliant and learned author exalts the achievements of Frederick and excuses his aggressive policy by saying: "As little as the Reformation was the obvious accomplishment of Luther, but had deep roots in the past, just as little was the Prussian strength the work of the political genius Frederick alone. On the hard colonial soil of the northeast a more taciturn and austere manner of people had developed, differing from the cosmopolitan old German and Austrian generations. And Lutheranism had a deep underlying effect on the culture of this North Ger-

man type. In many ways Frederick's struggle against Austria appears as a struggle for the recognition of Evangelism against the Catholic Empire. . . . As much as Frederick was its instigator, so much was he also the perpetrator of a century of the freeing and developing process of the north of Germany, which the Habsburg-Catholic supremacy in the middle and southern parts of Germany had never shadowed. This personality of Frederick's was a symbol of strength for Germany's future, right up to the present day, and indeed into a far more distant one. Frederick shaped millions of German souls. His spirit was filled with the French spirit of rococo and enlightenment, towards which he had turned his attention from childhood. Fénelon's ideal of the happiness of the people, the scepticism of Pierre Bayle, Hobbes and Locke, Montesquieu and Voltaire – those were the definite exponents of his philosophical ideas. . . . Frederick saw in the far distance a spiritually united Germany blooming, but he himself did not step through its portals . . . a sceptic. . . . He stood for the power of the State and for justice. . . . He placed the practical moral above the philosophical maxim. . . . The optimistic leader of the enlightenment . . . he formed a special Prussian consciousness of State. . . ."[1]

The modern German holds Frederick as his ideal of liberator of the State from superstition and ignorance and looks upon him as the rock on which Germany has built its influence and power. He is the embodiment of the German ideal of progressiveness and strength. But two hundred years ago when Maria Theresa had to face this onslaught of what she considered barbarism and cruelty – the attack on her ancient traditions and inherited lands – she foresaw only ruin and disaster.

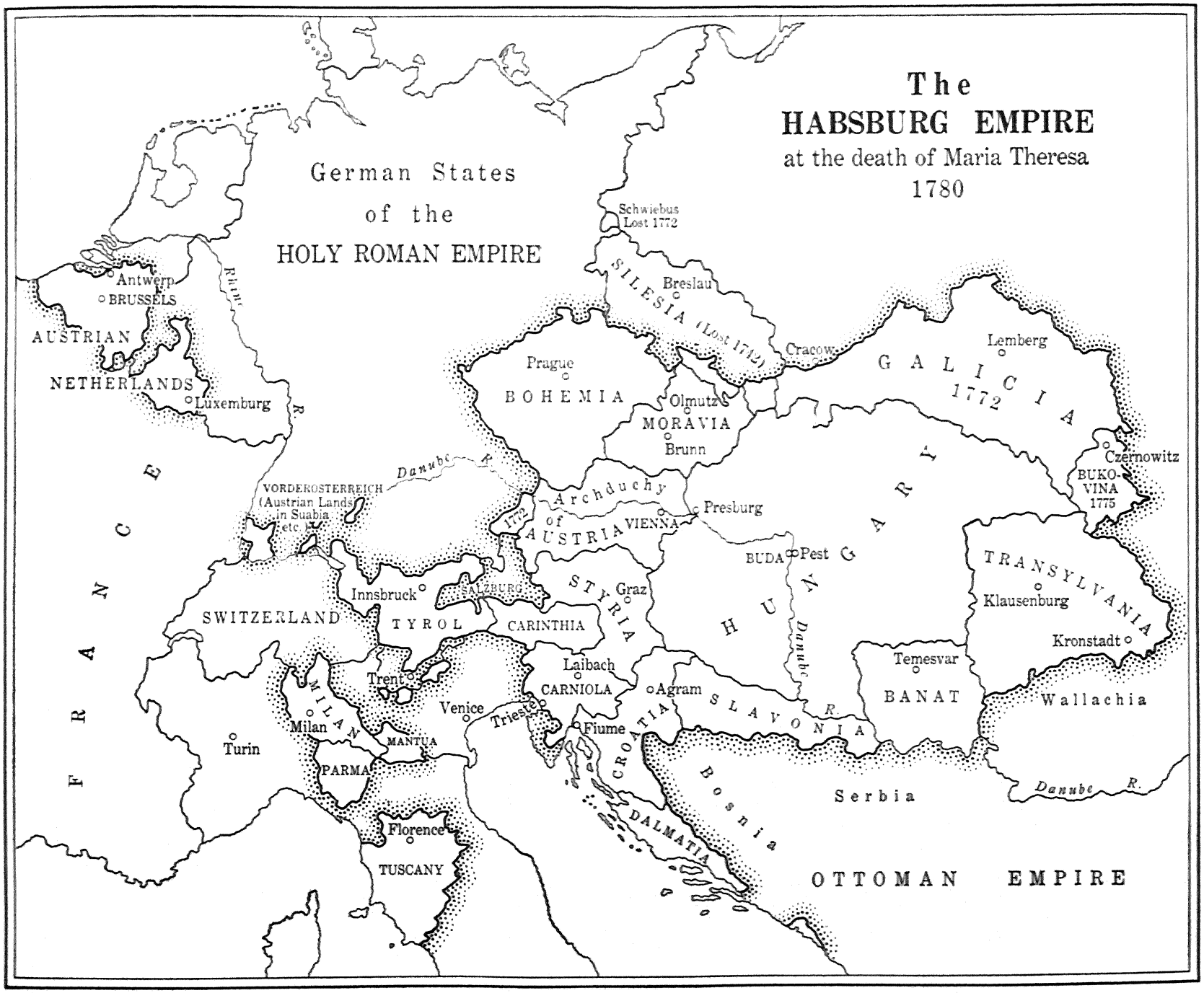
Her instincts gave her prophetic powers. "In one word, Maria Theresa's world held fast to the idea that besides

the desire for obedience and power there were other joys and benefits which made life worth living. Existence itself, with all the functions of life, love, nature, contentment, beauty, the quiet joys of contemplation, communion with God . . . the world of the spirit – these things were considered worth treasuring in the Austrian world."

She was a child of the great past of the House of Habsburg – a direct antithesis of her lifelong enemy, Frederick. Her mentality, inferior to that of her stern and stoical adversary, was vigorous, elemental, housewifely, and patriarchal. Fundamentally German in her inheritance and outlook on life, she at the same time possessed those attributes so typical of Austria in the picturesqueness of her thinking and her genius for grasping and interpreting the tangible, primitive, and natural desires of life. She expressed the spirit of which Mozart's music remains the enduring symbol, while Frederick, in his role of monarch, suggests an attitude that supports the categorical imperative of Kant's northern philosophy. Through the charm and greatness of her personality she aroused the admiration even of her cynical adversary. A conservative in heart and in spirit, she held uncompromisingly to the imperial ideas of the Middle Ages – the belief in the divine right of kings. Her existence was a battle to maintain the Habsburg rights in the Holy Roman Empire.

Prussia, under Frederick, took the first decisive steps in wresting the leadership of the German peoples from Austria. To be sure, the original Austrian Empire was broken down by the World War, and its final decline was due a great deal to the makeshifts of politics played by the great powers. However that may be, today in the twentieth century we behold the final crisis of the long struggle – the German Dualism, which the wars of Frederick initiated and which has proved a heavy fate for the German peoples collectively.

And the twentieth century looks on at the final crisis of the long war between northern power and southern culture, wondering how long Vienna and the thin border of country which is all that is left of Austria can survive.



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NOTES

ODE OF VOLTAIRE

National Library of Vienna
183823 — B. Vol. VIII, page 450, and Vol. X, page 367.

[1] This is a diplomatic ode. It was composed June 30, 1742, when Cardinal Fleury was endeavouring to make advances to Austria. It is known that two and a half months later, the wily politics of Fleury, which proved so costly, having been divulged by Austria itself, Voltaire was sent on a secret mission to the Prussian court. For the secret correspondence of this period regarding all this matter, refer to Chapter vii of the *Précis du siècle de Louis XV*. France supported Charles Albert of Bavaria against Maria Theresa. The sixth stanza is addressed to Cardinal Fleury, according to a note of Voltaire, dated 1748.

INTRODUCTION

[1] The writer's opinions, as expressed here, are in accord with those set forth in W. Andreas: *Geist und Staat.*

CHAPTER I

[1] Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, I, 236.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* I, 25.

[5] Christened Leopold after his grandfather. Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia*, p. 15.

[6] Quoted from the letter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu to Countess of Mar, September 1716, Letter I, 239 ff.

CHAPTER II

[1] H. Sedlmayr: *Österreichische Barockarchitektur;* Uhlirz: *Handbuch der Geschichte Österreichs*, I, 284.

[2] H. Marczali: *Hungary in the 18th Century.*

[3] For a fuller discussion of Austrian history see H. Pirchegger: *Geschichte und Kulturleben Deutschösterreichs von 1526–1792.*

[4] James Viscount Bryce: *The Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 396–7.

[5] Sir Richard Lodge: *The Student's Modern History.*

[6] Zwiedineck-Südenhorst: *Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung in Inner Österreich im 18. Jahrhundert;* Uhlirz, op. cit., I, 285.

CHAPTER III

[1] Arneth: *Geschichte Maria Theresias* (referred to below simply as Arneth), I, 13 ff.

[2] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 16, 17.

[3] Robinson to Lord Harrington, July 5, 1735. Arneth: *Geschichte Maria Theresias*, I, 25.

[4] Arneth, I, 25.

CHAPTER IV

[1] Arneth, I, 25.

[2] The situation in regard to the transfer of Lorraine to France must, however, be traced further back. When Charles VI lost the war of the Polish Succession to France he had to accept harsh terms. One of these conditions was that the Duke of Lorraine should give up his duchy, for an ultimate incorporation in the Kingdom of France, and take instead the Duchy of Tuscany as soon as the reigning Grand Duke there died. The

negotiations which took place with John Christopher Bartenstein at this time were, therefore, only in accord with what had been previously agreed. The signature of Francis, the heir to the Grand Duke, was necessary in order to complete this arrangement. It is, therefore, unjust to put the whole blame of this transaction on Charles VI.

[3] Letter from Francis I to Maria Theresa, February 8, 1736; W. Fred: *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*, I, 357.

[4] Maria Theresa to Francis I, February 8, 1736, written at Pressburg; Fred, op. cit., I, 356.

[5] Arneth: *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*, I, 357.

CHAPTER V

[1] The election of the Grand Duke Francis as a Freemason is described by Jakob Anderson in his *Neuen Constitutionenbuch der alten ehrwürdigen Bruderschaft der Freimaurer*. He wrote "In 1731 His Royal Highness Francis, Duke of Lorraine, was received by a deputation into a lodge in The Hague as apprentice and fellow. . . . When our brother Lorraine came to England this year, the Grand Master Lovell called a lodge for this occasion to Houghton Hall, the country house of Mr. Robert Walpole, and he made Brother Lorraine a master builder."

[2] Arneth, I, 489.

[3] Coxe: *House of Austria*, III, 219.

CHAPTER VI

[1] For an excellent portrayal of Maria Theresa at the time of her accession, see Arneth, I, 86 ff.

[2] Joseph was her fourth child. Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 74; Arneth, I, 254.

[3] Coxe, op. cit., III, 238–9.

CHAPTER VII

[1] Coxe, op. cit., III, 241.

[2] Sir Thomas Robinson: *Diplomatic Correspondence while*

British Ambassador to Vienna, 1730–1748. Manuscripts in the British Museum, particularly Vol. XXIII, a 31–23, 877.

[3] Arneth, I, 296.

[4] Coxe, op. cit., III, 241.

[5] The ruler of Austria could seldom count with certainty on the support of the Bohemians and Hungarians, though technically they were part of the monarchy. The Hungarians, in ratifying the Pragmatic Sanction, had explicitly reserved the right to elect a king of their own if Charles VI had no male heir. Feeling between the Austrian people and the Hungarian people was far from friendly.

[6] Maria Theresa did send a message to Frederick the Great urging him to support her husband and tried to influence others.

[7] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 228–9.

[8] Arneth, I, 62–9.

[9] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 51–5.

[10] Bartenstein was unpopular at court, largely because of his harsh manners and taste for gossip of a malicious kind.

[11] Arneth, I, 58.

[12] William Edwards: *Notes on European History*, III, 66. Frederick II asserted that Silesia " belonged by right of reversion to the electors of Brandenburg." This claim was ultimately based on an agreement made in 1537 between Joachim II of Brandenburg and the Duke of Liegnitz; it had been formally renewed by the Elector Frederick III in 1694, but had not been advanced by Frederick William I.

[13] Norwood Young: *Frederick the Great*, p. 186.

[14] Coxe, op. cit., III, 245.

[15] Arneth, I, 121.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] Arneth, I, 254.

[2] Tschuppik: *Maria Theresia*, p. 34.

[3] " Duly noted in periodicals of the day." Moffatt: *Maria Theresa*, p. 86.

[4] Arneth, I, 255.

[5] *Die Deutscher Führer Maria Theresia*, p. 29.

[6] Arneth, I, 222 ff.

[7] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 73.

[8] *Die Konvention von Kleinschnellendorf*, p. 41.

[9] Grühagen, I, 180, says 22,400 Prussians; 22,160 Austrians. Authorities differ greatly in these figures. The Austrians had better discipline; better weapons, including iron ramrods, which made for quicker reloading; and better aim. Still, losses were about equal; 4,500 killed, wounded, and prisoners on each side.

[10] Coxe, op. cit., III, 251.

[11] Lodge: *Great Britain and Prussia in the 18th Century*, Chapter ii.

[12] The changing British policy was due not altogether to George II, but principally to the fall of the unpopular Walpole Ministry, and the rise of Carteret to control of English foreign relations. Carteret was the real leader of the new Cabinet; he was a man of aggressive temper; and he wished to humiliate and check France, while Walpole had tried to act on friendly terms with her. Carteret revived the British policy followed in the War of the Spanish Succession.

[13] The mediation between Austria and Prussia was attempted by the English Minister Hyndman, who during an interview with Maria Theresa was authorized to make certain overtures to Frederick, which, however, came to naught.

[14] Coxe, op. cit., III, 267.

CHAPTER IX

[1] Marczali: *Hungary in the 18th Century*, pp. 349–52.

[2] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 108.

[3] Robinson to Lord Harrington, June 28, 1741.

[4] Kolmovies: *Nova Ungria Periodes* (1740), p. 325.

[5] Arneth, I, 300.

[6] Besides the very dramatic scene where the Queen appealed to the Hungarians as described, there was another meeting on September 11 when Maria Theresa appealed to the Diet for aid and wept, and the Diet enthusiastically pledged support. There

was a second meeting on the 21st, when the Queen presented her husband to the assembled estates; he made a short speech; and she caused an outburst of fresh enthusiasm when she held her infant son up to the audience. A good deal of myth has formed about these meetings and the true story of what happened is not clear.

[7] The actual words used were in Latin, which was the court and State language of Hungary. Maria Theresa was proclaimed King, not Queen, of Hungary. This was her official title in Hungary, where no queen had ever ruled.

CHAPTER X

[1] The captors were a mixed force of French, Bavarians, and Saxons.

[2] Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia,* p. 56.

[3] Arneth, I, 346–7.

[4] Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia,* p. 56.

CHAPTER XI

[1] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* I, 340 ff.

[2] Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II,* p. 211.

[3] Arneth, VII, 157.

[4] Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II,* p. 257.

[5] Karajan: *Maria Theresia und Graf Silva-Tarouca,* p. 9.

[6] Ibid., p. 83.

CHAPTER XII

[1] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* I, 341.

[2] Ibid., II, 222.

[3] Boehm: *Deutschland im Achtzehnten Jahrhundert.*

CHAPTER XIII

[1] *Erinnerung für Leutulus von Duncker Geschichte des Ersten Schlesischen Kriegs,* p. 280.

[2] Arneth, II, 468.

[3] *Erbfolgekrieg*, IV, 288.

[4] Coxe, III, 283. Arneth, II, 138.

[5] Coxe, III, 287.

[6] *Oesterreich Erbfolgekrieg*, V, 261.

[7] King George II was almost taken prisoner at Dettingen. No English monarch has since been allowed to lead an army to war. George II therefore enjoyed the distinction of being the last King of England who risked his life in battle.

[8] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 195.

[9] Coxe, III, 295. This plan, called the Project of Hanau, provided for mutual restitution of territory by Maria Theresa and Charles Albert. It recognized the Pragmatic Sanction and the Queen's right to cast the vote of Bohemia. Many historians blame Maria Theresa for her stubbornness. There are two sides to this question.

[10] Armstrong: *Elizabeth Farnese*, pp. 361 ff.

[11] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 173.

[12] Armstrong: *Elizabeth Farnese*, pp. 388 ff.

CHAPTER XIV

[1] Charles had about 70,000 men; to take possession of Alsace-Lorraine he needed more – enough to outnumber the French, who were hastily bringing up reinforcements, and in addition to protect his long line of communications. This time he perhaps ought not to be blamed for caution.

[2] Arneth, II, 547, Note 13. Letter to Traun, without date.

[3] Tschuppik: *Maria Theresia*, pp. 106–7.

CHAPTER XV

[1] Norwood Young, op. cit., pp. 126–7.

[2] This campaign has become memorable in history because of the humiliation of Frederick, who found himself in a terrible plight, with Charles coming from the west, the Hungarians closing in from the east, and no French troops to help.

[3] Khevenhüller-Metsch, I, 237–8.

[4] Arneth, II, 411; Tindal, Chap. XXI, 76.

CHAPTER XVI

[1] The death of Charles Albert was of momentous significance. The policy of France and Prussia had been to insist that the imperial throne be kept in non-Austrian hands. Frederick had been anxious to increase the strength of Charles Albert. Now that he was dead, who could take his place? The new Elector of Bavaria was too young and too weak. The Elector of Saxony, who was favoured by the French Minister, was timid, and was dependent on England and Russia. Thus the death of Charles Albert was a disaster to the Franco-Prussian plans, a happy event for Maria Theresa.

[2] Arneth, III, 106.

[3] Francis got seven votes out of the nine – the other two being those of Prussia and the Palatinate; Austrian agents used every possible means to round up the seven. The election was Maria Theresa's work and her triumph.

[4] Carlyle: *Frederick the Great*, pp. 514 ff.

[5] Ibid., p. 479.

[6] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 261.

[7] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 40.

[8] Ibid., Chapter ii.

[9] Arneth, III, 165.

[10] Friedrich von Maasburg: *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Theresianischen Halsgerichtsordnung* (Vienna, 1880).

CHAPTER XVII

[1] Coxe, III, 340.

[2] Arneth, III, 385 ff. Hassell: *Balance of Power*, pp. 199–202.

The terms of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle were:

1. Acknowledgment of Prussia's right to Silesia and Glatz.
2. The conditions of the Pragmatic Sanction were accepted

by all powers except for Frederick's conquests, as above, and the cession of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to Don Philip.

3. The King of Sardinia recovered Savoy and Nice and received also Upper Novara and Vigevano. His territory was thus extended in the Milanese to the Ticino.

4. Finale was restored to Genoa, and Modena to the Duke.

5. Louis XV consoled England by promising to exclude Prince Charles Edward from France, to recognize the Hanoverian succession in England, and to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk that faced the sea.

6. Great Britain and France agreed to restore their conquests. Louisburg was given back to France, and Madras, in India, which had been captured by the French, was restored to Great Britain. The French evacuated the Austrian Netherlands and restored the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch.

[3] The British Ambassador to the Duke of Newcastle, November 6, 1748. Coxe, III, 342.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1] Arneth, IV, 7.

[2] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 2 ff.

[3] The coin which was known as the Maria Theresia thaler which was in circulation at this time, was extensively used in trading outside of Austria. Austria endeavoured to promote the trade in these Maria Theresia talers with every means at its disposal. "*La monnaie, surtout dans le cas en question, n'est qu'en effet qu'une marchandise et essentiellement un objectum commercii*"; thus writes Count Chotek, the director of the Vienna Municipal Bank, as early as 1752, in a report. After 1765 the profit of the State from this article of trade declined considerably, as the silver had to be brought from abroad instead of being taken from the local mines.

Besides furthering trade relations, the advantages of the coin itself were very helpful for its distribution. The weight, the content of precious metal, the shape, form, and equipment, even the number of the year after 1780 always remained the same;

the round inscription prevented the clipping of the coin. The picture of the Empress, which was artistically valuable, pandered to the taste of the Oriental who enjoyed beautiful money, and made the coin suitable for an ornament. Thus we find in the description of a journey (S. W. Baker: *Tributaries of the Nile*, I, 162): "On the Setit, the Maria Theresian thaler is the only larger coin. I believe that the picture of the Empress with a low cut dress and ample bosom is the attraction which meets Arabian taste."

Until recently, Austria provided parts of Africa with newly minted Maria Theresia thalers, and only last year, when it ceded its monopoly to Italy, they were in circulation in Abyssinia upon the Italian occupation. They penetrated into the real plantation districts as far as the interior of Abyssinia.

[4] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 322.

[5] It was only in 1768 that the new criminal law was established. It was called *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana*, or usually simply *Theresiana*, and was established by the jurist Joseph Ferdinand von Holger. It was in force in the inherited lands, the Bohemian crown lands, and the military courts in December 31, 1768. This work is well known on account of the appended etchings which show the methods and articles used in torture, in Vienna and Prague.

In great detail is shown how the thumbscrews, instruments of torture with fire, the Spanish shoes, and the stretching-machine were employed. It is remarkable that this book bears the name of the Empress and also appeared at the time when the Prussians and Saxons had abandoned articles of torture. In Article 5 of the *Theresiana*, "more severe death penalties such as burning alive, quartering and drawing on the wheel, are prescribed, in certain circumstances made even more severe through dragging to the place of execution, torture with red-hot tongs, cutting of strips from the skin, cutting out the tongue, or pulling out the tongue from the throat." (Article 5, 3.)

Article 58, in reference to sorcery and witchcraft, states the procedure in case it has been "established that with the help of

the devil these sorceries have been accomplished." This, and all other reforms of Maria Theresa were carried out in the spirit of unrestricted princely absolutism.

Thus the method of the Inquisition achieved here its highest triumph. Private accusations were not taken into consideration. The plaintiff and the grounds for the prosecution were kept secret from the accused; sentence having been passed, the only recourse possible was to the ruler of the province. If the evidence did not furnish sufficient proof for a final sentence, torture was ordered and the method of torture decided upon. A confession made during torture was only valid if it was repeated after the torture. Otherwise the torture had to be repeated.

Even before the publication of the *Theresiana*, Kaunitz had voiced his objections to retaining a system of torture. The spokesmen of the general feeling of discontent were the Chancellor of Tirol, Hormayr, and Sonnenfels, who in 1775 published a book *On the Abolition of Torture*. The majority of the State Council voiced their attitude against torture; nevertheless, the Empress hesitated to abolish it. She finally left the decision to Joseph, and an Imperial rescript in 1776 abolished the system of torture " without reserve, generally."

[6] Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia*, p. 214.

[7] *Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana.* See Note 5 above.

[8] Tschuppik, pp. 146–7.

[9] Arneth, IV, 3–4.

[10] Arneth, IV, 41 ff.

[11] Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II*, p. 574.

[12] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, I, 333.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Podewils to Frederick II. Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II*, pp. 523–7.

[15] Earle of Ilchester and Mrs. Langford-Brooke: *Life of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams*, p. 268.

[16] Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II*, pp. 659–63.

CHAPTER XIX

[1] *Schönbrunn* means, translated, Beautiful Fountain.

[2] *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia,* edited by W. Fred; a letter of instructions to Countess Lerchenfeld, Ayah to Archduchess Johanna and Josepha, November 1756.

[3] Bermann: *Maria Theresia und Josef II,* p. 311.

[4] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* I, 349.

CHAPTER XX

[1] Coxe, op. cit., III, p. 346.

[2] "Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams, who was minister at Dresden, was privately despatched by the Duke of Newcastle, to gain an insight into the situation and principles of the Court at Vienna and to remonstrate against the infractions of the Barrier Treaty. He remained in Vienna during these arrangements for the elevation of Kaunitz and the dismissal of Bartenstein."

[3] Dispatch of Sir Charles Hanbury-Williams to the Duke of Newcastle, Dresden, July 15, 1753.

[4] Coxe, op. cit., III, 347.

[5] Ibid., III, 348.

[6] Andreas: *Geist und Staat.*

[7] Bright: *Maria Theresa,* p. 23. "It has been customary to speak of the chivalrous conduct of England in affording aid to the oppressed Queen. Such a vaunt is futile."

[8] Ibid., V, 94.

[9] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* II, 135.

[10] Guglia adds: "Without doubt, this hour brought her the much longed for opportunity to compensate for the humiliation she had suffered in the past on account of England's perfidy."

CHAPTER XXI

[1] The British Ambassador to the Earl of Holderness, Vienna, May 15 and September 20, 1756.

[2] Poem by Voltaire. Guglia, II, 217.

A l'Empereur François I et l'Impératrice Marie Therèse, Reine de Hongrie . . . sur l'inauguration de l'Université de Vienne:

Dans Vienne à l'indigence on donne des asiles,
Aux guerriers des leçons et des honneurs aux beaux arts
Et des secours aux arts utiles.
Connaissez à ces traits la fille des Césars:
Therèse et son époux ont dans l'Europe entière
Un concert d'applaudissements . . .

Œuvres, ed. Moland, X, 367 ("*tirée d'un volume in folio, où se trouve le discours latin du P. Meister, Jésuite, pronouncé à la même occasion. Avril 1756*").

[3] *Brief an den Grafen und die Gräfin Enzenberg*, IV, 444.

[4] *Oesterreich Rundschau*, 1912, IV, 268.

[5] Letter from Leopold Mozart to Hagenauer of Salzburg, 1762.

[6] Letter from Maria Theresa to Leopold, December 12, 1771.

[7] *Die Theater Wiens*, II, 95.

[8] The value of a gulden today in English money is one shilling eightpence; in American money, forty cents.

[9] *Briefe*, IV, 22.

[10] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 190.

[11] Coxe, op. cit., III, 436 ff.

[12] Bryce: *Holy Roman Empire*.

CHAPTER XXII

[1] H. Marczali: *Die Memoiren des Kanzlers Grafen Nicholaus von Palffy über die Verwaltung Ungarns.*

A facsimile of a letter of Maria Theresa to Palffy designating him as a palatine and showing her appreciation of his services, preserved in the State archives in Budapest, appears in this book.

[2] Guglia: *Das Theresianum in Wien.*

[3] Bessenyei's remembrances of Maria Theresa's court are to be found in his *A bilbiari remete Debrecen* (1894).

[4] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 344.

[5] For the history of St. Stephen's feast-day see Gabor: *A szent Istvánapi ünnep története* (Budapest, 1927).

[6] For their contents, I am indebted to the chief of the State Archives, Budapest.

[7] State Archives Bureau, Budapest, Püchler, May 26, 1776.

[8] A. Diveky: *A lengyelor Szágnak elzálogositott 16 szepesi város vissza csatolása* (1770).

[9] In the time of Maria Theresa the Latin language was in common use among the Hungarian noblemen. Coxe, op. cit., III, 264.

CHAPTER XXIII

[1] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 120.

[2] In contemplating the shift of alliances which preceded the Seven Years' War, one must consider that for two hundred years Austria and France had been enemies and had fought again and again; from the time of Emperor Charles V against Francis I right down to Maria Theresa herself against Louis XV. For decades, also, Prussia and England had been mortal enemies. But now there was a double volte-face. Prussia and England became firm allies. They were to unite their armies against any power that should try to force its way into Germany. Austria and France simultaneously struck hands.

[3] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 119.

[4] Ibid., p. 121.

[5] Frederick in this case had justification. The Dutch Ambassador, who had letters from St. Petersburg and was otherwise well informed, had told him that France, Austria, and Russia meant to reduce Prussia to the limits occupied before the Thirty Years' War; that Austria was about to put 80,000 men into the field, Russia 150,000. Frederick pointed the English envoy to a portrait of Maria Theresa, and exclaimed: "If this lady wishes war, she shall have it soon." Henderson: *Germany*, II, 152, 153.

[6] *Remarques sur la réponse de la Cour de Vienne.* Frederick to London, August 27, 1756.

[7] Norwood Young: *Life of Frederick the Great*, pp. 195, 196.

[8] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 255.

[9] Frederick II: *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans; Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand*, Vols. IV, V (Berlin, 1892).

[10] Young, op. cit., p. 199.

[11] A florin is now worth two shillings, or fifty cents.

[12] Louis XV's son, the Dauphin, married Marie-Josèphe, daughter of King Augustus III of Saxony in 1747 and died before his father. His son succeeded to the throne as Louis XVI.

[13] Martin: *Histoire de France.*

[14] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 134.

[15] Young, op. cit., p. 201.

[16] Ibid., p. 206.

[17] Arneth, V, 193, 503.

[18] Frederick II: *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

[19] Frederick II: *Œuvres*, XXVIII (3), p. 274; *Raisons de ma conduite militaire.*

[20] F. A. Ritzno: *Erinnerungen des Siebenjährigen Krieges*, I, 142.

[21] Young, op. cit., pp. 212, 213.

[22] German General Staff, III, p. 88.

CHAPTER XXIV

[1] Letter of Maria Theresa to Daun, June 1758.

[2] Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia*, p. 254; Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 127.

[3] Coxe, III, 379.

[4] For her care for administrative details see Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 151 ff.

[5] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 268.

[6] Ibid., VI, 263.

[7] Young, op. cit., pp. 245, 246.

CHAPTER XXV

[1] Young, op. cit., p. 246.

[2] *Histoire de la Guerre de Sept Ans. Œuvres de Frédéric le Grand.* Vols. IV, V (Berlin, 1847).

[3] H. St. Paul: *A Journal of the Seven Years' War*, edited by J. S. Butler (1914).

[4] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 143.

[5] Tschuppik, op. cit., p. 254.

[6] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 156.

[7] Ibid., p. 156. Raumer, II, 482.

[8] Carlyle, op. cit., V, 447, 463; Coxe, op. cit., III, 407; Arneth, V, 197 ff.

[9] Norwood Young, op. cit., p. 272.

[10] Carlyle, op. cit., V, 318, 325, 341; Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 123; Arneth, V, 1.

[11] Guglia, op. cit., II, 163; Kretchmayr, op. cit., pp. 134 ff.

[12] Tschuppik: *Maria Theresa*, p. 240.

CHAPTER XXVI

[1] The thaler is an old German silver coin worth about seventy-five cents in American money.

[2] Henderson, II, 176, 177.

[3] Arneth, VI, 179.

[4] Bright: *Maria Theresa*, p. 181.

[5] " On February 15, 1763, Austria and Prussia signed a treaty at Hubertsburg, whereby all conquests on both sides were restored. Frederick promised his vote for the Austrian candidate at the next Imperial election. Previously to this a peace had been signed between England, France and Spain on November 3, 1762 at Fontainebleau and the peace of Paris followed February 10, 1763. England obtained great acquisitions in Canada and India but restored some of her conquests and abandoned the New England Fisheries claim. Frederick strove hard to obtain Saxony, but met with opposition both in Russia and England

and had to abandon the object for which he had plunged Europe into war. Thus the Seven Years' War ended on the continent with return to the *status quo ante bellum.*" Young, op. cit., p. 346.

[6] As to Kaunitz, August 1765, see H. Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia,* pp. 269–70.

CHAPTER XXVII

[1] Arneth, VI, 381 ff.

[2] Hock-Bidermann: *Der Österreichische Staatsrat,* p. 11, and Arneth, VII, 13, giving a letter of Maria Theresa to Daun.

[3] This marks Kaunitz's entrance into the predominant role in internal affairs. In December 1761 Maria Theresa approved his further suggestions for reform. The governmental organization set up by Haugwitz in 1749 was largely abandoned, a new Bohemian-Austrian chancery established, and financial affairs divided under control of three agencies. In 1764 Haugwitz proposed a return to the earlier principles of 1749. After long discussion Maria Theresa approved certain of his proposed changes, especially those concentrating and unifying control of the financial system. This modification of 1764–5 was the last sweeping attempt at reform of the whole governmental system under Maria Theresa. Friedrich Walter has discussed the administrative reforms of 1761 and 1764–5 in two articles in the *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung,* Vols. XLVI, XLVII. Heinrich Kretschmayr; *Maria Theresia,* pp. 104–6, also deals with these changes.

[4] An edition of the *Constitutio* appeared at Vienna in 1769. It gives an excellent insight into contemporary punishments.

[5] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* II, 375–6.

[6] *Die Erinnerungen des Giacomo Casanova,* H. Conrad, editor, VI, Chapter iv.

[7] Guglia: *Maria Theresia,* II, 218–20.

CHAPTER XXVIII

[1] For the early years of Joseph's life see Padover: *The Revolutionary Emperor.*

[2] Arneth, VII, 38.

[3] To Maria Christina. Arneth, VII, 41–2.

[4] Arneth, VII, 46.

[5] Arneth, VII, 47–8.

[6] Arneth, VII, 62. Joseph wrote this to his father-in-law, the Duke of Parma.

[7] Arneth, VII, 62, giving a letter written December 11, 1763.

[8] Arneth, VII, 82. The letter was written December 11, 1763.

[9] Arneth, VII, 102.

[10] Arneth, VII, 104. The letter was dated November 13, 1764.

CHAPTER XXIX

[1] Maria Theresa had by Francis five sons and eleven daughters, of whom nine survived her. Her surviving sons were:

1. JOSEPH, who succeeded her.

2. LEOPOLD, Grand Duke of Tuscany, afterwards Emperor.

3. FERDINAND, who was appointed Governor of Austrian Lombardy; and, in virtue of his marriage with Maria Beatrix, daughter and heiress of Hercules Rinaldo, Duke of Modena, obtained the reversion of the duchies of Modena, Mirandola, and Reggio.

4. MAXIMILIAN, Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Coadjutor of Cologne and Münster, and Elector of Cologne, April 15, 1784.

Her surviving daughters were:

1. MARIA ANNA, Abbess of Prague and Klagenfurt.

2. MARIA CHRISTINA, married to Albert of Saxony, son of Augustus III, King of Poland. He received on his marriage the principality of Teschen as an appanage; they were appointed joint viceroys of Hungary, and on the death of Prince Charles

of Lorraine, Governors General of the Netherlands. She was the favourite daughter of Maria Theresa, and inherited her personal attractions.

3. MARIA ELIZABETH, Abbess of Innsbruck.

4. MARIA AMALIA, who espoused Don Ferdinand, Duke of Parma.

5. MARIE CAROLINE, Queen of Ferdinand, King of Naples. She owed elevation to the premature deaths of her two elder sisters, Johanna and Josepha. JOHANNA was betrothed, at the age of twelve, to the King of Naples, but died of the smallpox. JOSEPHA was destined to supply her place, and in the bloom of youth and beauty was affianced to Ferdinand, on August 8, 1767. She was to have been married by proxy on the 14th, and preparations were even made for her departure. But she testified the deepest regret at quitting her family, and descended into the vault of the Capuchins, to enjoy for the last time the melancholy pleasure of weeping over the ashes of her father. In this agitation of mind she was seized with the smallpox, which in less than a week hurried her to her grave, on the very day appointed for the commencement of her journey.

6. MARIE ANTOINETTE, married to Louis, Dauphin and afterwards King of France.

[2] Arneth, VII, 51.

[3] Arneth, VII, 50–1.

[4] November 26, 1763. Arneth, VII, 62.

[5] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 238.

[6] Kretschmayr: *Maria Theresia*, p. 281.

[7] February 12, 1766. Arneth, VII, 163.

[8] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 231.

CHAPTER XXX

[1] To the Archduchess Caroline, dated from Schönbrunn, August 9, 1767. Arneth: *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresia*, III, 29–32.

[2] To the Archduchess (Queen) Caroline early in April 1768. Arneth: *Briefe*, III, 37–41.

[3] Leopold to Maria Theresa, May 10, 1768. Arneth, VII, 364.

[4] Caroline to Countess Lerchenfeld, May 1768. Arneth, VII, 365.

[5] Marie Caroline attained a lurid reputation. She is known to have had many lovers, and her behaviour was notorious. Her close friendship with Lady Hamilton, whose reputation was far from savoury, was much condemned in Naples and elsewhere.

[6] To Countess Lerchenfeld, Naples, June 19, 1768. Arneth, VII, 365–6.

[7] Letter to Archduchess Amalia, June 1769. Arneth: *Briefe*, III, 13.

[8] Arneth, VII, 386.

[9] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 266–7.

[10] Arneth, VII, 386.

[11] Maria Theresa to Rosenberg, undated. Arneth, VII, 394.

[12] Arneth: *Briefe der Kaiserin Maria Theresa an ihre Kinder und Freunde*, IV, 508. See also Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 270 ff.

[13] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 271, citing the French journal of the Duke, translated by Wolf: *Marie Christine*, I, 125 ff.

[14] Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Marie Antoinette*, pp. 41–2.

[15] Ibid., p. 38.

[16] Ibid., letter of May 30, 1776, p. 161.

[17] Joseph also wrote in this critical vein to Leopold. Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, II, 133–4.

CHAPTER XXXI

[1] Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, I, 201–3.

[2] Frederick the Great.

[3] Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, letter as of date above, I, 203.

[4] Ibid., II, 29.

[5] For this letter see Arneth, VII, 292, 303.

CHAPTER XXXII

[1] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 181.

[2] Beer: *Die erste Teilung Polens*, I, 327.

[3] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 184.

[4] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 629.

[5] See Anthony: *Catherine the Great*, p. 196.

[6] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, citing Raumer, Beiträge IV, Part 2, p. 246.

[7] The Poles, to some extent, brought their fate upon themselves. Their land was the worst governed in Europe; almost the worst cultivated; without social justice, toleration, or enlightenment, and full of misery and oppression. The Poles were probably happier after their country was divided; they were certainly more prosperous.

[8] She called him "*ein böser Mann*" on occasion. Young, op. cit., p. 417.

[9] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 300, citing Arneth and Geffroy, I, 81.

[10] To Joseph, January 25, 1772. Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, I, 362–3.

[11] Arneth, VIII, 365–6.

[12] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 630. See also Young, op. cit., p. 399.

[13] Hans Euberberger: *Russlands Orient-politik in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten bis zum Frieden von Jassy* (Deutsche Verlagsanstalt, 1913). Von Herzfeld: Historical Commission of the Academy in Vienna for the Sciences, 1919.

[14] Budawina (known as northwestern Moldauland) was annexed to Austria later as a substitute for western Wallachia. It was the connecting link between Galicia and Siebenburgen. For having concluded a defence agreement with Turkey against Prussia, Austria was to receive, in July 1771, western Wallachia. This agreement was cancelled by Austria, Prussia, and Russia, in 1772; but Austria then annexed Budawina as a substitute for western Wallachia, May 1775. Austria got about three times as

much Polish territory as Prussia and it was much more populous and fertile. The Russian part was larger than Austria's, but did not have half so many people.

[15] Katharine Anthony in her life of Catherine the Great tells most vividly of the love-affairs and intrigues of the Czarina of Russia.

CHAPTER XXXIII

[1] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 631.

[2] Young, op. cit., pp. 390–1.

[3] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 631.

[4] Letter to Joseph, March 14, 1778. Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, II, 190.

[5] Ibid., II, 190.

[6] Ibid., II, 190. See also Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 314.

[7] See his letter of July 15, 1778. Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Joseph II*, II, 341–2.

[8] Sainte-Beuve: *Nouveaux Lundis*, Vol. IX, pp. 379–81.

[9] *Cambridge Modern History*, VI, 633.

[10] Margaret Goldsmith: *Maria Theresa of Austria*, p. 267.

[11] Maria Theresa to Mercy, March 3, 1780. Arneth, X, 670.

CHAPTER XXXIV

[1] November 3, 1780. Arneth: *Maria Theresia und Marie Antoinette*, p. 331.

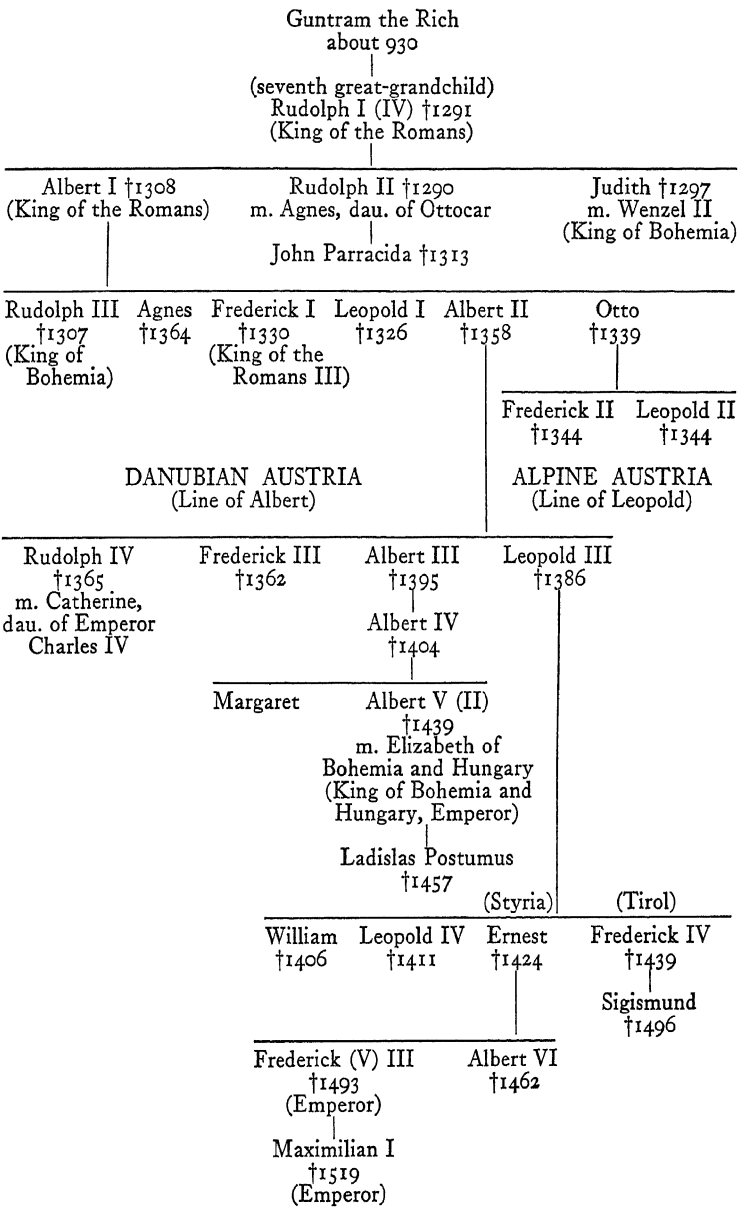
[2] Guglia: *Maria Theresia*, II, 380.

[3] Arneth, X, 729.

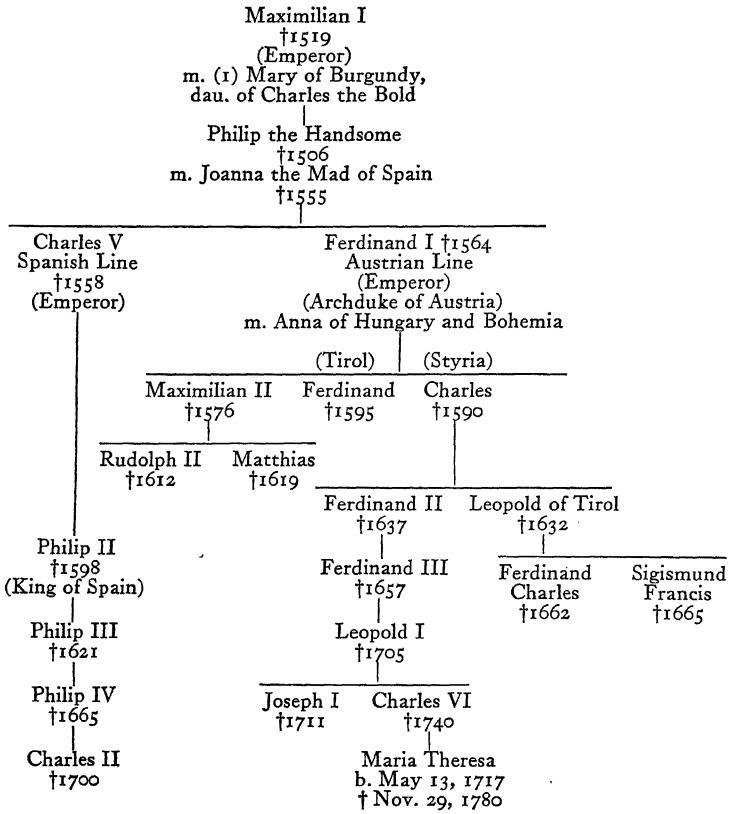
EPILOGUE

[1] Srbik: *Deutsche Einheit*, I, 103–4.

OLD HABSBURG BRANCH



YOUNGER HABSBURG BRANCH



THE HABSBURG–LORRAINE LINE

MARIA THERESA — FRANCIS OF LORRAINE

4 Joseph II (1741–1790) m. (1) Isabella of Parma; (2) Maria Josepha of Bavaria
- Maria Theresa (1) (1762–1770)

5 Maria Christina (1742–1798) m. Prince Albert of Saxe-Teschen

8 Maria Amalia (1746–1804) m. Ferdinand, Duke of Parma
- Louis
  - Charles Louis
    - Charles III (ob. 1854)
      - Margaret m. Prince Charles of Spain

9 Leopold II (1747–1792) Duke of Tuscany (1765) Emperor (1790) m. Marie Louise dau. of Charles III of Spain
- Maria Theresa (b. 1767)
- Francis II (1768–1835), Emperor (1792–1806) m. Maria Theresa dau. of Ferdinand I of Naples
  - Marie Louise (ob. 1847) m. Napoleon I
    - Duke of Reichstadt (Napoleon II)
  - Ferdinand I of Austria (abdicated 1848)
  - Francis Charles (1802–1878) m. Sophia of Bavaria
    - Francis Joseph (1830–1916), Emperor (1848) (of Austria) m. Elizabeth of Bavaria (murdered 1898)
      - Gisela (b. 1856)
      - Rudolph (1858–1889)
      - Marie Valérie (1868–1924)
    - Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico (executed 1867)
    - Charles Louis
      - Francis Ferdinand (heir) (murdered 1914)
      - Otto Francis
        - Charles I m. Zita of Parma (abdicated 1918; ob. 1922)
          - Francis Joseph Otto (heir to Habsburg throne)
- Ferdinand, Duke of Tuscany
- Charles
- Rainer m. Elizabeth of Savoy
  - Adelaide m. Victor Emmanuel II of Sardinia, afterwards King of Italy

14 Ferdinand (1754–1806) m. Marie Beatrix d'Este, Heiress of Modena
- Francis IV, Duke of Modena m. Beatrix, dau. of Victor Emmanuel I of Sardinia
  - Francis V (deposed 1860) (unification of Italy)

13 Marie Caroline of Austria 1752–1814) m. Ferdinand I (IV) of Naples
- Francis I of Naples (1825–1850) m. Maria, dau. of Charles IV of Spain
  - Christina m. Ferdinand VII of Spain
    - Isabella
      - Alphonso XII m. Christina of Austria
        - Alphonso XIII
  - Ferdinand II (Bomba) (1830–1857)
    - Francis II (deposed 1860) (unification of Italy)
- Maria Theresa m. Emperor Francis II
  - Marie Louise, Duchess of Parma, m. Napoleon I
- Marie Amelia m. Louis Philippe of Orléans, King of France
  - Ferdinand, Duke of Orléans
    - Count of Paris
      - Duke of Orléans
      - Marie Amélie, Queen of Portugal
  - Louise m. Leopold I of Belgium
    - Leopold II
      - Stéphanie m. Rudolph of Austria
    - Philip, Count of Flanders
      - Albert I
        - Leopold II m. Astrid of Sweden
  - Clementina m. Augustus of Saxe-Coburg
    - Ferdinand I, King of Bulgaria (abdicated 1918)
      - Boris

15 Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) m. Louis XVI of France
- Louis Joseph (ob. s.p. 1789)
- Charles Louis (Louis XVII) (ob. s.p. 1795)
- Marie Thérèse m. Duke of Angoulême (ob. s.p.)

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A NOTE ON THE TYPE IN WHICH THIS BOOK IS SET

This book was set on the linotype in Janson, a recutting made direct from the type cast from matrices (now in possession of the Stempel foundry, Frankfurt am Main) made by Anton Janson some time between 1660 and 1687.

Of Janson's origin nothing is known. He may have been a relative of Justus Janson, a printer of Danish birth who practised in Leipzig from 1614 to 1635. Some time between 1657 and 1668 Anton Janson, a punch-cutter and type-founder, bought from the Leipzig printer Johann Erich Hahn the type-foundry which had formerly been a part of the printing house of M. Friedrich Lankisch. Janson's types were first shown in a specimen sheet issued at Leipzig about 1675. Janson's successor, and perhaps his son-in-law, Johann Karl Edling, issued a specimen sheet of Janson types in 1689. His heirs sold the Janson matrices in Holland to Wolffgang Dietrich Erhardt, of Leipzig.

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